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Abraham Lincoln and the Tariff

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THE controversy between "high-tariff" and "low-tariff" groups has remained constant in American history.¹ Following the Civil War, the protective tariff became a cardinal doctrine of the triumphant Republican party.² Abraham Lincoln, the Republicans' patron saint, recognized that "the tariff question must be as durable as the government itself," that sharp differences of opinion would prevail among Americans "as to whether and how

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¹ Orrin L. Elliott, *The Tariff Controversy in the United States, 1789-1833* (Palo Alto, 1892); Carl W. Kaiser, jr., *History of the Academic Protectionist-Free Trade Controversy before 1860* (Philadelphia, 1939); Robert R. Russel, *Economic Aspects of Southern Sectionalism, 1840-1861* (Urbana, 1924), pp. 37-40, 65-66, 151-56; John G. Van Deusen, *Economic Bases of Disunion in South Carolina* (New York, 1928), pp. 19-21, 59-103, 328; Jesse T. Carpenter, *The South as a Conscious Minority, 1789-1861* (New York, 1930), pp. 19, 29-30, 56; Ulrich B. Phillips, *The Life of Robert Toombs* (New York, 1913), p. 148; Avery Craven, *The Coming of the Civil War* (New York, 1942), pp. 215-16, 224, 321, 401; James C. Ballagh, "Southern Economic History: Tariff and Public Lands," American Historical Association, *Annual Report, 1898* (Washington, 1899), pp. 223 ff.

² George E. Hunsberger, "The Development of Tariff Policy in the Republican Party," Ph.D. dissertation in manuscript form, submitted to the University of Virginia in 1934.

far the duties on imports shall be adjusted to favor home production."³ It is of historical relevance to trace the tariff struggle as it affected Lincoln's career.

Lincoln as a young man was originally attracted to the Whig party by admiration for Henry Clay.⁴ At this time Clay united East and West on his "American System"—a program championing internal improvements and a protective tariff.⁵ As Lincoln grew to manhood in a pro-Clay region of Indiana,⁶ Clay's creed of internal improvements and protectionism constituted the basis of the anti-Jacksonian cause.⁷ When Lincoln left the Hoosier state for Illinois in 1830, he was a Whig at heart. In 1832 he cast his first presidential vote for Clay.⁸ In this same year, as a candidate for the state legislature, he told the electorate: "My politics can be briefly stated. I am in favor of the internal improvement system, and a high protective tariff. These are my sentiments and political principles."⁹

During the presidential campaign of 1840 the Illinois party brethren, led by Lincoln, declared for a protective tariff. On the stump for William Henry Harrison he called for a rise in import rates.¹⁰

Throughout the 1840's, as an ardent Whig on the Illinois hustings, Lincoln fought against free-trade influences.¹¹ In 1844, on speaking tours advocating the election of Clay to the presidency, he emphasized the benefits of a high tariff.¹² As a member of Congress from 1847 to 1849, he supported measures

³ Lincoln's speech at Pittsburgh, Feb. 15, 1861, *New York Daily Tribune*, Feb. 16, 1861.

⁴ Louis A. Warren, "The Lone Whig of Illinois," *Lincoln Lore*, No. 580 (May 20, 1940); Reinhard H. Luthin, "Abraham Lincoln and the Massachusetts Whigs in 1848," *New England Quarterly*, XIV (Dec., 1941), 619 n.; Henry B. Rankin, *Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln* (New York and London, 1916), pp. 363-64.

⁵ Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *The Life of Henry Clay* (Boston, 1937), pp. 57-60, 164-66, 215-16; E. Malcolm Carroll, *Origins of the Whig Party* (Durham, 1925), pp. 24-25, 37, 47, 173; Harold U. Faulkner, "The Development of the American System," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CXLI (Jan., 1929), 12; E. Merton Coulter, "The Genesis of Henry Clay's American System," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXV (Jan., 1926), 45-54.

⁶ Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858* (Boston and New York, 1928), I, 96-99, 115.

⁷ J. Brown Ray to Dr. David G. Mitchell, Mar. 28, 1827, William H. English Papers, William Henry Smith Memorial Library, Indianapolis.

⁸ Beveridge, I, 115 ff.

⁹ Osborn H. Oldroyd, *The Lincoln Memorial* (New York, 1882), p. 76; William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, *Herndon's Lincoln* (Chicago, 1889), I, 102.

¹⁰ Emanuel Hertz, *The Hidden Lincoln* (New York, 1938), p. 383. Cf. Charles M. Thompson, *The Illinois Whigs before 1846* (Urbana, 1915), pp. 73-74; Harry E. Pratt, "Lincoln—Campaign Manager and Orator in 1840," *Bulletin of the Abraham Lincoln Association*, No. 50 (Dec., 1937), pp. 3-8. For a summary of tariff legislation in the ante-bellum decades, see F. W. Taussig, "The Tariff, 1830-1860," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, II (Apr., 1888), 314-46.

¹¹ Arthur B. Lapsley, ed., *The Writings of Abraham Lincoln* (Constitutional ed., New York and London, 1905), I, 301-305; John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Gettysburg ed., New York, 1894), I, 300-15; II, 55-56.

¹² Harry E. Pratt, *Lincoln, 1840-1846* (Springfield, 1939), pp. 220-21, 232; Rockport (Indiana) *Herald*, Nov. 1, 1844, in Bess V. Ehrmann, *The Missing Chapter in the Life of Abraham Lincoln* (Chicago, 1938), facsimile opposite p. 104; Hertz, p. 79; *Illinois State Register* (Springfield), Mar. 22, 29, 1844; Springfield (Ill.) *Sangamo Journal*, Aug. 7, 1844, in *New York Herald*, Oct. 20, 1860.

to raise the rates of the low Walker Act, which had meanwhile been passed by the Democratic-controlled Congress.¹³ Ending his term in Congress, Lincoln returned to his profession of the law, intermittently dabbling in Illinois politics. In 1856 he forsook the anemic Whig party and belatedly entered the Republican ranks.¹⁴

During Lincoln's first years as a Republican there was little to indicate his party's future role as the champion of home industry. In his region of Illinois, hostility to the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which had precipitated the organization of the Republican party, was grounded deeply in resistance to the threat involved in that measure to the common man's interest in "free land": the tradition of a land free from competing Negro slave labor and the hope of land free in price.¹⁵ The Kansas-Nebraska legislation was more likely to affect a Jacksonian Democrat than an erstwhile Clay Whig like Lincoln. Economic conditions under the existing low Walker schedules were generally good. Lincoln and other champions of the American System, who had claimed a close relationship between the superseded high tariff of 1842 and prosperity, were silenced. The trend toward "free trade" was reflected in the enactment of the "low" tariff of 1857,¹⁶ a measure made possible by a coalition of Democrats, woolen manufacturers who wanted raw wool placed on the free list, and railroad interests who wanted tariff-free iron from abroad.¹⁷ The Republicans in Congress, imbued with Whig doctrines and anxious to combat the Democrats, voted against the tariff. But it was futile. Northern Democrats joined their Southern brethren in passing the measure, and President Franklin Pierce approved it before turning over the presidential office to James Buchanan.¹⁸

No sooner had Buchanan been installed in the executive mansion than the Panic of 1857 cast its shadow over the land.¹⁹ Immediately Republican

¹³ *Congressional Globe*, 30 Cong., 2 sess., Appendix, p. 26; D. W. Bartlett, *The Life and Public Services of Hon. Abraham Lincoln* ("Authorized ed.," New York, 1860), pp. 36, 42.

¹⁴ Reinhard H. Luthin, "Abraham Lincoln Becomes a Republican," to be published in a forthcoming issue of the *Political Science Quarterly*.

¹⁵ Madison Kuhn, "Economic Issues and the Rise of the Republican Party in the Northwest," Ph.D. dissertation in manuscript form, submitted to the University of Chicago in 1940, pp. 101-106, 108, 111-18, 136-44; Mildred C. Stoler, "Influence of the Democratic Element in the Republican Party of Illinois and Indiana, 1854-1860," Ph.D. dissertation in manuscript form, submitted to Indiana University in 1938, p. 26; Floyd B. Streeter, *Political Parties in Michigan, 1837-1860* (Lansing, 1918), p. 200; F. I. Herriott, "The Germans of Chicago and Stephen A. Douglas in 1854," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, XII (1912), 388-91.

¹⁶ Arthur C. Cole, *The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870*, Vol. III of *The Centennial History of Illinois* (Springfield, 1919), pp. 101-102.

¹⁷ James H. Campbell to Carey, Dec. 4, 1856, Henry C. Carey Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Box 59.

¹⁸ Edward Stanwood, *American Tariff Controversies in the Nineteenth Century* (Boston and New York, 1903), II, 99-108; Roy F. Nichols, *Franklin Pierce* (Philadelphia, 1931), p. 502; *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 3 sess., Appendix, p. 358.

¹⁹ George W. Van Vleck, *The Panic of 1857* (New York, 1943), pp. 60 ff.

editors and orators, particularly in Pennsylvania, blamed the existing tariff for the nation's economic distress. In the election of 1858 the Republicans combined with other opponents of the Democrats to carry Pennsylvania on a protectionist issue.²⁰

During this same year, 1858, Lincoln campaigned against Stephen A. Douglas for United States Senator. Since Illinois was not yet a manufacturing state, the Republicans deemed it expedient not to stress the tariff issue. To have done so would have offended free-soil Democrats who were deserting to the Republican ranks. Lincoln made no mention of the tariff in his historic verbal tilts with Douglas.²¹ "For the present," writes Lincoln's biographer Albert J. Beveridge, "the protective tariff appeal was left to the East."²²

The elections of 1858 were a prologue to the presidential campaign of 1860. Sagacious Republican leaders recognized that antislavery as an exclusive issue could not assure national victory. The defeat of John C. Frémont by Buchanan in 1856 had demonstrated to the leaders of Lincoln's party that hostility to slavery extension was insufficient.²³ Pennsylvanians, knowing their own power, impressed upon influential Republicans that their state, second in electoral votes to New York, could be carried in 1860 only on a protectionist platform.²⁴

In August, 1859, therefore, Representative Justin S. Morrill, Republican of Vermont, sponsored a bill raising the tariff rates in order to "force the [Democratic-controlled] Senate to accept or defeat it."²⁵ Morrill's bill was sponsored by the Republicans in order to attract votes in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.²⁶ The wool rates were to be raised in order to lure the West. Western Republicans, realizing the necessity of carrying Pennsylvania, were impressing upon their agrarian constituents the expediency of accepting a protective tariff plank in the national platform. Moreover, isolated Western

²⁰ McQuaide to Covode, Aug. 11, 1858, John Covode Papers, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh; C. Maxwell Myers, "The Rise of the Republican Party in Pennsylvania, 1854-1860," Ph.D. dissertation in manuscript form, submitted to the University of Pittsburgh in 1940, pp. 179-210; Malcolm R. Eiselen, *The Rise of Pennsylvania Protectionism* (Philadelphia, 1932), pp. 244-49; Reinhard H. Luthin, "The Democratic Split during Buchanan's Administration," *Pennsylvania History*, XI (Jan., 1944), 17.

²¹ Beveridge, II, 524, 525, 571.

²² *Ibid.*, II, 571. With slightly more than four thousand plants, employing fewer than twenty-five thousand workers and turning out less than \$57,000,000 worth of the "products of industry" for the year ending June 1, 1860, Illinois ranked only eighth among the thirty-three states of the Union; even California, one of the younger states, exceeded Illinois in manufactures. See Joseph C. G. Kennedy, "Preliminary Report on the Eighth Census, 1860," *House Executive Document*, No. 116, 37 Cong., 2 sess., serial 1137, p. 190.

²³ Greeley to George E. Baker, May 3, 1859, in *The Republic* (Washington, 1873), I, 200.

²⁴ Simon Cameron to Carey, June 3, 1858, Carey Papers, Box 59; Lee F. Crippen, *Simon Cameron: Ante-Bellum Years* (Oxford, Ohio, 1942), p. 196; *Philadelphia Press*, May 15, 1860; *New York Herald*, Sept. 13, 1859.

²⁵ H. Winter Davis to Morrill, Aug. 20, 1859, Justin S. Morrill Papers, Library of Congress.

²⁶ Thomas M. Pitkin, "The Tariff and the Early Republican Party," Ph.D. dissertation in manuscript form, submitted to Western Reserve University in 1935, p. 185.

sections with mineral deposits would be benefited by excluding European products.²⁷ An Indiana Republican leader assured his audience that a high tariff would "afford just encouragement and protection to the agricultural and manufacturing interests."²⁸ The talented Illinois editor Joseph Medill preached the same gospel in his *Chicago Press and Tribune*.²⁹ This journal was confident that the coming national convention would adopt a tariff plank that would be "satisfactory alike to Pennsylvania and Illinois, to Massachusetts and Minnesota."³⁰

There was good reason for Medill to emphasize the tariff issue: he realized only too well that the Republicans could not win the presidency in 1860 without the electoral vote of Pennsylvania.³¹ In October, 1859, the *Chicago Press and Tribune* editor became interested in Lincoln as presidential timber;³² he preached that Lincoln "was an old Clay Whig, is right on the tariff and he is exactly right on all other issues. Is there any man who could suit Pennsylvania better?"³³ In this same month Lincoln's relative by marriage, Dr. Edward Wallace of Pennsylvania, desiring to sound the Illinoisan on the tariff issue in anticipation of offering him an endorsement for vice president, wrote Lincoln a letter. Lincoln replied:³⁴

Clinton, October 11, 1859.

My dear Sir: I am here just now attending court. Yesterday, before I left Springfield, your brother, Dr. William S. Wallace, showed me a letter of yours, in which you kindly mention my name, inquire for my tariff views, and suggest the propriety of my writing a letter upon the subject. I was an old Henry Clay-Tariff-Whig. In old times I made more speeches on that subject than any other.

I have not since changed my views. I believe yet, if we could have a moderate, carefully adjusted protective tariff, so far acquiesced in as not to be a perpetual subject of political strife, squabbles, changes, and uncertainties, it would be better for us. Still it is my opinion that just now the revival of that question will not advance the cause itself, or the man who revives it.

I have not thought much on the subject recently, but my general impression is that the necessity for a protective tariff will ere long force its old opponents to take it up; and then its old friends can join in and establish it on a more firm and

²⁷ *Id.*, "Western Republicans and the Tariff in 1860," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXVII (Dec., 1940), 402-404.

²⁸ Oliver P. Morton, Republican candidate for lieutenant governor of Indiana, quoted in the *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, Mar. 16, 1860.

²⁹ *Chicago Press and Tribune*, Mar. 30, Apr. 3, 1860.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Apr. 4, 1860.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 7, Nov. 16, 1859.

³² Tracy E. Strevey, "Joseph Medill and the *Chicago Tribune* in the Nomination and Election of Lincoln," in Paul M. Angle, ed., *Papers in Illinois History* (Springfield, 1938), pp. 44 ff.; Philip Kinsley, *The Chicago Tribune: Its First Hundred Years*, I (New York, 1943), 90.

³³ Medill to Archibald W. Campbell, Oct. 30, 1859, copied from *Wheeling Register*, May 1, 1932, in folder marked "Nomination," Lincoln Collection, Lincoln National Life Foundation, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

³⁴ Lincoln to Dr. Wallace, Oct. 11, 1859, in Nicolay and Hay, V, 256-57. This letter, which is supposed to have appeared originally in the *Chicago Tribune* of March 16, 1867, is printed in "Lincoln on the Tariff," *New York Evening Post*, Apr. 10, 1914.

durable basis. We, the Old Whigs, have been entirely beaten out of the tariff question, and we shall not be able to reestablish the policy until the absence of it shall have demonstrated the necessity for it in the minds of men heretofore opposed to it. With this view, I should prefer to not now write a public letter on the subject. I therefore wish this to be considered confidential. I shall be very glad to receive a letter from you.

That Lincoln was indeed interested in Pennsylvania was indicated by his correspondence with Jesse W. Fell. A Pennsylvania-born journalist of Illinois, and soon to become secretary of the Republican State Central Committee of Illinois, Fell in 1858 had toured the East, where he discovered an interest in the Springfield lawyer who was then so effectively opposing Stephen A. Douglas for the Senate. In December, 1859, Lincoln furnished Fell a short autobiography, which the latter forwarded to his friend Joseph J. Lewis of West Chester, Pennsylvania. Lewis expanded this material into a lengthy article for the *Chester County Times* of February 11, 1860. Lewis wrote that Lincoln had been Clay's friend and master of "the principles of political economy that underlie the tariff. . . . Mr. Lincoln has been a consistent and earnest tariff man from the first hour of his entering public life."³⁵

Meanwhile, protectionist sentiment mounted to fever heat in Pennsylvania. And no individual contributed so much to make the state tariff-minded as the renowned political economist Henry C. Carey of Philadelphia. Carey flooded the Republican press—particularly Morton McMichael's Philadelphia *North American* and Horace Greeley's New York *Tribune*—with articles detailing how the low tariff had been responsible for the Panic of 1857.³⁶ A critic correctly termed him the "Ajax of Protection."³⁷ In mid-April, 1860, Carey wrote Morrill, "Nothing less than a dictator is required for making a really good tariff. Would to heaven you or I could fill the place for a week."³⁸ Carey was likewise active in lobbying for Morrill's bill. On April 30 he received a letter from George W. Scranton, congressman from Pennsylvania, founder of the city of Scranton, and a prosperous coal and iron producer:³⁹

³⁵ Frances M. I. Morehouse, *The Life of Jesse W. Fell* (Urbana, 1916), p. 60; Nicolay and Hay, V, 286–89; Harry E. Pratt, "Abraham Lincoln in Bloomington, Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XXIX (Apr., 1936), 64–65.

³⁶ Myers, pp. 7, 197; Eiselen, pp. 246–47, 255–56, 272–77; Van Vleck, pp. 103–104, 104 n.; Vernon L. Parrington, *The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America, 1860–1920* (New York, 1930), pp. 105–11; Elwyn B. Robinson, "The *North American*: Advocate of Protection," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXIV (July, 1940), 346; "Carey and Greeley," *Social Economist*, VII (Sept., 1894), 135. See especially Nathan A. Bailly, "Henry Carey's 'American System,'" M. A. thesis in manuscript form, submitted to Columbia University in 1941.

³⁷ Henry C. Baird, "The Carey-Baird Centenary," *The American Bookseller*, Feb. 16, 1885, p. 104.

³⁸ Justin S. Morrill, "Notable Letters from My Political Friends," *Forum*, XXIV (1897), 147.

³⁹ Scranton to Carey, Apr. 30, 1860, Carey Papers, Box 76. For Scranton, see *Dictionary of*

We hope to get the [Morrill] Tariff Bill to a vote this week . . . I have written to one of my friends, a delegate to Chicago from Pa. stating to him in substance the views you expressed when here [in Washington] in relation to the proposed conference between the N. J. and Pa. delegations before they meet at Chicago. He is personally acquainted with two or three of the N. J. delegates and will be likely to meet some or all of them several times before Convention.

. . . Coal stocks and estates well located are improving in value and have touched the lowest points; if we can carry the Tariff Bill *through*, you may safely mark up your coal interests.

The tariff did indeed loom large at the Republican National Convention, which assembled in Chicago on May 16, 1860. The party leaders clearly foresaw that antislavery as an exclusive issue was not enough to assure victory in November. Horace Greeley, who as proxy from Oregon served on the committee on resolutions at the Chicago conclave, had only recently confided to an associate:⁴⁰

Now about the Presidency: I want to succeed this time, yet I *know* the country is not Anti-Slavery. It will only swallow a little Anti-Slavery in a great deal of sweetening. An Anti-Slavery man *per se* cannot be elected; but a Tariff, River and Harbor, Pacific Railroad, Free Homestead man *may* succeed *although* he is Anti-Slavery.

Indeed, what river and harbor improvement was to the Great Lakes region, what a proposed Pacific railroad and a daily overland mail were to California and Oregon, and what homestead was to the Northwest, the tariff was to Pennsylvania⁴¹ and, in a lesser degree, to New Jersey.⁴² A Harrisburg correspondent had recently written: "The opposition [anti-Democratic] politicians here say you may cry nigger, nigger, as much as you please, only give us a chance to carry Pennsylvania by crying tariff. Without this state you can not elect your President."⁴³ Now, from the Chicago gathering, one delegate wrote home: "Penn. demands a tariff plank in the platform. Her delegation is active and urgent."⁴⁴ Delaware Republicans, with growing industrial interests, supported Pennsylvanians in their demands.⁴⁵ So, too,

American Biography, XVI, 513-14; *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1907), IX, 138.

⁴⁰ Greeley to Mrs. R. M. Whipple (probably in 1859), Horace Greeley Papers, Library of Congress.

⁴¹ Henry R. Mueller, *The Whig Party in Pennsylvania* (New York, 1922), pp. 82-83, 99 ff., 110-12, 120-31, 140-41, 172-74; Sister M. Theophane Geary, *A History of Third Parties in Pennsylvania, 1840-1860* (Washington, 1938), pp. 21, 109, 111, 118-20, 145, 167; Eiselen, chap. XII.

⁴² Charles M. Knapp, *New Jersey Politics during the Period of the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Geneva, 1924), pp. 17, 24, 24 n., 35 n., 54 n., 185; *Trenton Daily True American*, Jan. 12, 1859; *Newark Daily Advertiser*, Jan. 4, 29, Feb. 2, Apr. 26, 1859.

⁴³ Harrisburg correspondence in *New York Herald*, Sept. 13, 1859.

⁴⁴ R. Hosea to Chase, May 16, 1860, Salmon P. Chase Papers, Library of Congress.

⁴⁵ *Delaware Republican* (Wilmington), Mar. 15, May 3, 1860; *Delaware Gazette* (Wilmington), Feb. 3, Mar. 20, 1860. McMichael's *Philadelphia North American* had a large circulation in Delaware. See K. Rayner to Carey, Oct. 26, 1858, Carey Papers, Box 75.

did the delegates from western Virginia, a wool-growing region with vast mineral deposits;⁴⁶ Republicans of Wheeling assailed the Democrats as a "Southern-British-Antitariff-Disunion party."⁴⁷ Republicans of Lincoln's own Illinois and of distant Oregon, eager to conciliate Pennsylvania, agreed to accept higher import duties as the price of national Republican victory.⁴⁸

The platform makers at Chicago, however, faced the dilemma of catering to Pennsylvania while recognizing free-trade sentiment among the former Democratic members in their ranks.⁴⁹ Thus the out-and-out protectionists found it impossible to obtain a frank endorsement of their principle. The most militant fighters for a high-tariff declaration on the Committee on Resolutions were the New Jersey member, Thomas H. Dudley, who hailed from the industrial center of Camden, directly across the Delaware River from Philadelphia,⁵⁰ and Horace Greeley, sitting as proxy member from Oregon. But the former Democrats had to be considered, and the tariff declaration ultimately adopted was mild. According to Gustave Koerner, the Illinois member of the platform committee at the Chicago convention:⁵¹

The only trouble was given us by Greeley, who insisted upon a strong protective plank. We did not consider the tariff question at this particular time as one of primary importance, and we humored him by declaring that "while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country." This amounted to no more than the establishment of a revenue tariff bill with incidental protection, and did not differ essentially from former Democratic declarations on the same subject.

The tariff resolution constituted the twelfth plank of the platform. Political expediency prevented an unequivocal protectionist declaration, since the Democratic element of the Republican party leaned toward free trade or

⁴⁶ Charles H. Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia from 1776 to 1861* (Chicago, 1910), p. 202; Margaret K. Monteiro, "The Presidential Election of 1860 in Virginia," *Richmond College Historical Papers* (June, 1916), I, 245.

⁴⁷ *Wheeling Intelligencer*, May 3, 1860, in Charles H. Ambler, "The Cleavage between Eastern and Western Virginia," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XV, 779.

⁴⁸ *Chicago Press and Tribune*, Mar. 30, Apr. 3, 4, 1860; *Oregon Weekly Times* (Portland), Apr. 30, 1859; Walter C. Woodward, *The Rise and Early History of Political Parties in Oregon, 1843-1868* (Portland, 1913), pp. 154, 168.

⁴⁹ E. Peshine Smith to Carey, Feb. 6, 1859, Carey Papers, Box 77.

⁵⁰ Pitkin, "The Tariff and the Early Republican Party," pp. 191 n.-192 n. William J. Potts corroborates Pitkin in assigning a major role to Dudley in having the tariff plank adopted at Chicago. See Potts, "Biographical Sketch of the Hon. Thomas H. Dudley, of Camden, N. J.," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XXXIV (Philadelphia, 1895), 107. Dudley remained a protectionist until his late years. In 1861, Lincoln appointed him United States consul at Liverpool. See Giles B. Stebbins, *The American Protectionist's Manual* (Detroit, 1883), pp. 113-18; Harry J. Carman and Reinhard H. Luthin, *Lincoln and the Patronage* (New York, 1943), p. 100. Miss Norma Cuthbert of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California, has graciously searched through the papers of Thomas H. Dudley, in possession of that institution, and has found no material relevant to Dudley's activities at the Chicago convention.

⁵¹ *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner* (Cedar Rapids, 1909), II, 87.

"tariff-for-revenue only." But the Pennsylvanians and other protectionists considered what they received as the best obtainable under the circumstances.⁵² A Democratic journal commented critically: "A protective tariff is cautiously advocated."⁵³ The twelfth plank was enthusiastically acclaimed at Chicago. One observer reported: "The Pennsylvania and New Jersey delegations were terrific in their applause over the tariff resolution, and their hilarity was contagious, finally pervading the whole vast auditorium."⁵⁴ Another eyewitness confided to his diary:⁵⁵ "The scene this evening upon the reading of the 'Protection to Home Industries' plank in the platform was beyond precedent. One thousand tongues yelled, ten thousand hats, caps and handkerchiefs waving with the wildest fervor. Frantic jubilation."

The day following the adoption of the platform the convention proceeded to ballot for a presidential candidate. Pennsylvania, casting fifty-four convention votes and second only to New York in delegate strength, became the prize for which the managers of all candidates contended. Lincoln's strategists conceded that the Empire State was unbendingly behind Senator William H. Seward. Pennsylvania's favorite son, Senator Simon Cameron, did not have united support in his own state; moreover, Cameron's main stock in trade, the tariff, was a paramount issue only in the Keystone State and in New Jersey.⁵⁶ In courting Pennsylvania, Lincoln's floor strategists stressed his devotion to the ancient Clay doctrine. Joseph Medill had long hammered away on the theme that "Lincoln was safe on protection, homesteads, rivers and harbors, and the Pacific railroad."⁵⁷ And only four days before the Chicago convention assembled, Lincoln was again in correspondence with Dr. Edward Wallace of Pennsylvania. Lincoln wrote Wallace:⁵⁸

Springfield, Illinois, May 12, 1860.

My dear Sir: Your brother, Dr. W. S. Wallace, shows me a letter of yours in which you request him to inquire if you may use a letter of mine to you in which something is said upon the tariff question. I do not precisely remember what I did say in that letter, but I presume I said nothing substantially different from what I shall say now.

⁵² Pitkin, "The Tariff and the Early Republican Party," pp. 190 ff.

⁵³ New York *Herald*, May 19, 1860.

⁵⁴ Detroit *Daily Tribune*, May 18, 1860.

⁵⁵ William J. Onahan, "A Civil War Diary," ed. by Mary Onahan Gallery, *Mid-America*, III, New Series (July, 1931), 65. See also Murat Halstead, *Caucuses of 1860* (Columbus, Ohio, 1860), p. 135; New York *Herald*, May 18, 1860.

⁵⁶ The most scholarly account of the Chicago convention is William Baringer's *Lincoln's Rise to Power* (Boston, 1937), chaps. v-vi. Judge Edward Bates of Missouri had some strength among the Pennsylvania delegates largely because of his protectionist views. See Reinhard H. Luthin, "Organizing the Republican Party in the 'Border-Slave' Regions: Edward Bates's Presidential Candidacy in 1860," *Missouri Historical Review*, XXXVIII (Jan., 1944), 158.

⁵⁷ Kuhn, p. 162.

⁵⁸ Nicolay and Hay, VI, 11-12. In 1861 President Lincoln appointed Dr. Wallace to the lucrative position of Naval Officer in the Philadelphia Custom House. See Carman and Luthin, *Lincoln and the Patronage*, pp. 66, 115.

In the days of Henry Clay, I was a Henry-Clay-tariff man, and my views have undergone no material change upon that subject. I now think the tariff question ought not to be agitated in the Chicago convention, but that all should be satisfied on that point with a presidential candidate whose antecedents give assurance that he would neither seek to force a tariff law by executive influence, nor yet to arrest a reasonable one by a veto or otherwise. Just such a candidate I desire shall be put in nomination. I really have no objection to these views being publicly known, but I do wish to thrust no letter before the public now upon any subject. Save me from the appearance of obtrusion, and I do not care who sees this or my former letter.

In this second letter to Wallace, Lincoln, while reiterating his soundness on the tariff, made certain not to make himself too obnoxious to the Democratic "free-trade" element within the Republican ranks; therefore, "the tariff question ought not to be agitated in the Chicago convention," and a candidate should be nominated whose antecedents indicated that he would support a "reasonable" tariff.

Finally Lincoln received the support of almost the entire Pennsylvania delegation—partly through the efforts of doctrinaire protectionists such as Morton McMichael, Henry C. Carey's friend and publisher of Philadelphia's Bible of protectionism, the *North American*, who was a delegate at Chicago.⁵⁹

It is difficult to conceive of the Illinois man being nominated Republican standard-bearer without Pennsylvania support.⁶⁰ It is equally difficult to imagine the Keystone State agreeing to accept Lincoln without becoming convinced that he was sound on the tariff. Indeed, McMichael emphasized, "Mr. Lincoln was, throughout, well known for his firm and unwavering fidelity to Henry Clay, and the great policy of protection to American industry."⁶¹ A colleague of McMichael portrayed Lincoln in Pennsylvania as "the great champion of protection in the Northwest."⁶²

Lincoln, in accepting the presidential nomination, endorsed the Chicago platform and, in effect, went on record as favoring a rise in tariff rates.⁶³ Later in the campaign, in answer to a query, he wrote confidentially:⁶⁴

Springfield, Illinois, September 22, 1860.

My dear Sir: Your letter asking me "Are you in favor of a tariff and protection to American industry?" is received. The convention which nominated me, by the

⁵⁹ Elwyn B. Robinson, "The Public Press of Philadelphia during the Civil War," Ph.D. dissertation in manuscript form, submitted to Western Reserve University in 1936, p. 81.

⁶⁰ Stanton L. Davis, *Pennsylvania Politics, 1860-1863* (Cleveland, 1935), pp. 101-106; Reinhard H. Luthin, "Pennsylvania and Lincoln's Rise to the Presidency," *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LXVII (Jan., 1943), 61-71.

⁶¹ Philadelphia *North American and United States Gazette*, May 19, 1860. For the *North American's* tariff views, see Elwyn B. Robinson, "The North American: Advocate of Protection," *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LXIV, 345-55.

⁶² *Id.*, "The Public Press of Philadelphia during the Civil War," p. 128.

⁶³ Lincoln quoted in Paul M. Angle, "Lincoln's First Campaign for the Presidency," *Bulletin of the Abraham Lincoln Association*, No. 28 (Sept., 1932), p. 8.

⁶⁴ Lincoln to G. Yoke Tams (private and confidential), Sept. 22, 1860, in Nicolay and Hay, VI, 58.

twelfth plank of their platform, selected their position on this question; and I have declared my approval of the platform, and accepted the nomination. Now, if I were to publicly shift the position by adding or subtracting anything, the convention would have the right, and probably would be inclined, to displace me as their candidate. And I feel confident that you, on reflection, would not wish me to give private assurances to be seen by some and kept secret from others. I enjoin that this shall by no means be made public.

In the Republicans' campaign to elect Lincoln President over Stephen A. Douglas, John C. Breckinridge, and John Bell, the tariff figured as a minor issue in Northwestern regions. Greeley strove valiantly to demonstrate how the agrarian Northwest's interests were tied to the industrial East, even circulating a *Tribune* tract entitled *American Agriculture and Its Interest in the Protective Policy*.⁶⁵

Western Republicans' acceptance of the tariff plank in the Chicago platform on which Lincoln stood was a compound of several ingredients. There was much of staunch old Whiggery, rejoicing in the revival of the former party dogma. There were interests which had suffered under the downward revision of 1857, such as the iron groups in Ohio and those in the lead districts of Wisconsin, who now saw a chance to regain their protected position. There were regions in the upper Mississippi Valley where, in a period of depression, the tariff was looked to for the stimulus of manufactures to balance an agricultural economy. Also, there was a widespread disposition to accept the tariff as a dose which must be swallowed to obtain the reward of homestead legislation. Most of all, there was a belief, steadily urged upon all loyal Republicans, that Pennsylvania could be won, and with it the presidency, by a gesture toward upward tariff revision.⁶⁶ True, the West made a gesture toward protectionism. When Lincoln made a brief appearance at a Republican rally in his home town of Springfield, a local woolen mill took part in the procession, with an immense wagon containing a power loom driven by a steam engine. Several yards of jeans cloth, from which a garment was fashioned for Lincoln, were publicly made. The wagon bore the significant motto "Protection to Home Industry."⁶⁷

Some Republicans in the East, like those in the Northwest, acquiesced in the tariff plank of the Chicago convention primarily because Pennsylvania politicians demanded it—and Lincoln needed that state's electoral vote. New England woolen manufacturers were generally satisfied with the existing

⁶⁵ New York *Daily Tribune*, July 19, 1860.

⁶⁶ Kuhn, pp. 149-53; Eugene H. Roseboom, "Ohio in the 1850's," Ph.D. dissertation in manuscript form, submitted to Harvard University in 1932, pp. 55-56; Pitkin, "Western Republicans and the Tariff in 1860," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXVII, 410-18; W. W. Davis to Carey, Feb. 18, 1860, Carey Papers, Box 64.

⁶⁷ *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), clipped in New York *Daily Tribune*, Aug. 13, 1860.

tariff of 1857, inasmuch as it provided them with low duties on imported raw wool.⁶⁸ A New England delegate to the Chicago convention, alluding to the Pennsylvania delegates at Chicago, exclaimed, "Dam[n] their iron and coal."⁶⁹

With the woolen manufacturing interests apathetic toward the Republican creed of a higher tariff, the party strategists, concerned with electing Lincoln, sought to persuade them that the Morrill bill, passed by a Republican-controlled House of Representatives and awaiting action by the Senate, was beneficial to Massachusetts interests. The pro-Lincoln Boston *Daily Advertiser* explained that the duty would be raised on incoming woolen manufactures.⁷⁰ Toward the end of the campaign Andrew G. Curtin, governor-elect of Pennsylvania and an ardent protectionist, was brought to Boston to speak. Action on the Morrill bill having meanwhile been blocked by the Democratic-dominated Senate, Curtin maintained that this was a blow at the interests of the laboring man.⁷¹

Regardless of the popularity or unpopularity of the Morrill bill in the Northwest and New England, the tariff proved a decisive issue in Pennsylvania.

Not only did Pennsylvania cast twenty-seven electoral votes—second only to New York—but it was long considered "doubtful." The state had been carried by the Democrat James Buchanan over Frémont in 1856 and had decided the presidential contest in favor of the former. Moreover, it was an "October" state, holding its gubernatorial contest one month before the presidential election. Republicans and Democrats strained every nerve to carry the 1860 Pennsylvania state election.⁷²

McMichael's Philadelphia *North American* made protectionism the paramount issue in the Keystone State. Between September 1 and November 6, it printed only six editorials of consequence relating to slavery, whereas between September 3 and October 11, sixteen lengthy editorials relevant to the tariff appeared.⁷³ Republican journals in other regions of the state also portrayed Lincoln as a stout champion of protection.⁷⁴ Lincoln, remaining

⁶⁸ Richard Hofstadter, "The Tariff Issue on the Eve of the Civil War," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV, 50–55; Baker to Carey, Mar. 10, 1860, Carey Papers, Box 58.

⁶⁹ Gaillard Hunt, *Israel, Elihu, and Cadwallader Washburn* (New York, 1925), p. 72.

⁷⁰ Boston *Daily Advertiser*, May 15, 1860.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 29, 1860.

⁷² Luthin, "Pennsylvania and Lincoln's Rise to the Presidency," *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LXVII, 71.

⁷³ Edgar B. Cale, "Editorial Sentiment in Pennsylvania in the Campaign of 1860," *Pennsylvania History*, IV (Oct., 1937), 221, 227–28; Philadelphia *North American and United States Gazette*, May 19, 21, 23, 1860.

⁷⁴ I. F. Boughter, "Western Pennsylvania and the Morrill Tariff," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, VI (Apr., 1923), 128.

in Springfield, Illinois, confidentially referred his correspondents to the national platform and pointed to the Whig papers of 1844 to prove his adherence to Clay's policy. To one he wrote on October 2:⁷⁵

To comply with your request to furnish extracts from my tariff speeches is simply impossible, because none of those speeches were published. It was not fashionable here in those days to report one's public speeches. In 1844 I was on Clay's electoral ticket in this State (i.e., Illinois) and, to the best of my ability, sustained, together, the tariff of 1842 and the tariff plank of the Clay platform. This could be proven by hundreds—perhaps thousands—of living witnesses; still it is not in print, except by inference. The Whig papers of those years all show that I was upon the electoral ticket; even though I made speeches, among other things *about* the tariff, but they do not show *what* I said about it. The papers show that I was one of a committee which reported, among others, a resolution in these words:

"That we are in favor of an adequate revenue on duties from imports so levied as to afford ample protection to American industry."

But, after all, was it really any more than the tariff plank of our present platform? And does not my acceptance pledge me to that? And am I at liberty to do more, if I were inclined?

As the election drew near, the fight to carry Pennsylvania became keener. Republicans in Congress, with an eye to the Keystone State vote, kept the tariff to the fore. On May 10 they succeeded in jamming the Morrill bill through the House. Their efforts were partially blocked, however, when Robert M. T. Hunter, Democrat of Virginia and chairman of the Senate finance committee, succeeded in having the Democratic-controlled Senate pass his amendment calling for postponement of the bill's consideration until the next session of Congress—after the election!⁷⁶ Meanwhile, throughout Pennsylvania, Lincoln orators hammered away at the Democrats' hostility to the state's interests. Curtin, Republican gubernatorial candidate, gave a greater portion of his time to the discussion of the tariff and financial issues than to all others combined.⁷⁷ One Democratic leader complained to Senator Douglas: "The Republicans, in their speeches, say nothing of the nigger question, but all is made to turn on the Tariff";⁷⁸ later he appealed to Douglas to say kind words for protection to home industry when the latter took the stump in Pennsylvania.⁷⁹ At Harrisburg in September, Douglas, an erstwhile low-tariff advocate, supported protection.⁸⁰ The Republicans assailed the Little Giant's insincerity and, in their final election manifesto, appealed:⁸¹

⁷⁵ Lincoln to James E. Harvey, Oct. 2, 1860, in Nicolay and Hay, VI, 61–62.

⁷⁶ Myers, p. 249. ⁷⁷ Crippen, p. 223.

⁷⁸ William L. Helfenstein to Douglas, July 31, 1860, Stephen A. Douglas Papers, University of Chicago Library.

⁷⁹ Same to same, Sept. 5, 1860, *ibid.* ⁸⁰ New York *Herald*, Sept. 8, 1860.

⁸¹ Robinson, "The Public Press of Philadelphia during the Civil War," p. 83.

"Every voter in Pennsylvania who desires to-day to emphasize his vote in favor of protection to American industry and to the best interests of this State, should give it to Abraham Lincoln."

The Lincolnites' strategy proved fruitful. Aided by the low-tariff record of most Democrats and by the split in the Democratic party, they elected Curtin governor in October and won the state's twenty-seven electoral votes for Lincoln in November. Republican and Democratic campaign managers agreed that the tariff issue enabled Lincoln to carry pivotal Pennsylvania.⁸²

As in Pennsylvania, so, too, in New Jersey did the Republicans present Lincoln as the champion of American industry. They assured the voters, "Mr. Lincoln is in favor of a Protective Tariff, because he earnestly desires to see all our mills and factories in successful operation, making music along our rivers and booming amid the hills." As in the Keystone State, the Republicans, in their effort to carry New Jersey for Lincoln, made the most of the Democrats' pigeonholing of the Morrill bill in the Senate, contrasting it with their party's pledge to pass it in the House.⁸³ Lincoln's "high-tariff" past proved a strong attraction to erstwhile Whigs. One Republican leader reported from Bergen County:⁸⁴

Mr. [Joseph] Hoxie commenced [the rally] by reviewing the acts of the present [Buchanan] administration . . . and closed with an appeal to those who had fought with him under the banner of "Protection to American Industry," to come forth and battle for one of Clay's noblest friends, "Honest Abe" of Illinois.

Dr. Thomas M. Pitkin has concluded: "It is certain that the issue of protection, ably presented and persistently urged, helped materially in winning four of the votes of a state which had, in 1856, gone solidly Democratic."⁸⁵

In estimating the role of the tariff in the election of Lincoln, it must be recognized that any serious study of political events and party organization in the United States from 1854 to 1860 will reveal the wide variety of issues involved and the divergent emphases placed on them by Republican strategists in different regions of the North. Opposition to the leaders and policies of the Democratic party, national, state, and local, was the common ground on which Lincoln's party stood. The Republicans also reaped the rewards from the split within the Democratic ranks into Buchanan and Douglas factions—

⁸² Cameron to Thompson, Oct. 16, 1860, Richard W. Thompson Papers, Lincoln National Life Foundation, Fort Wayne, Indiana; Eiselen, pp. 257-64; James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress* (Norwich, 1884), I, 206-207; Ollinger Crenshaw, "Urban and Rural Voting in the Election of 1860," in Eric F. Goldman, ed., *History and Urbanization: Essays in Honor of W. Stull Holt* (Baltimore, 1941), p. 56; Luthin, "Pennsylvania and Lincoln's Rise to the Presidency," *Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, LXVII, 74-82.

⁸³ Pitkin, "The Tariff and the Early Republican Party," pp. 219-20.

⁸⁴ New York *Daily Tribune*, Sept. 29, 1860.

⁸⁵ Pitkin, "The Tariff and the Early Republican Party," pp. 221-22.

a split over personalities, patronage, and "Bleeding" Kansas.⁸⁶ In New York⁸⁷ and Massachusetts⁸⁸ the major issues were Know-Nothingism, temperance, and opposition to slavery extension; the pope, John Barleycorn, and the "slavocrats" Franklin Pierce, James Buchanan, and Stephen A. Douglas were the main targets of the anti-Democratic attack started by the declining Whig party and then carried on by the Republicans. In winning the Northwest, Lincoln was aided not only by the Democratic split but also by his party's promise to give free land—homestead—to actual settlers.⁸⁹ In sweeping the Great Lakes region he was helped by the plank in the Chicago platform calling for Federal funds for the improvement of rivers and harbors.⁹⁰ In carrying California and Oregon by a small margin, the Democratic schism and Republican demand for construction of a railroad to the Pacific and a daily overland mail combined to tip the scales in his favor.⁹¹ In achieving success for Lincoln in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the foregoing pages indicate that the promise of a protective tariff and the Democratic rupture were the decisive factors. Pennsylvania's twenty-seven electoral votes, given to any other candidate, would have reduced Lincoln's majority to three. The additional loss of New Jersey's four electoral votes would have thrown the

⁸⁶ George W. Jones to Breese, Sept. 7, 1858, Sidney Breese Papers, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield; George Fort Milton, *The Eve of Conflict: Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War* (New York, 1934), chaps. xvii-xxix; Philip G. Auchampaugh, "The Buchanan-Douglas Feud," *Jour. Illinois State Hist. Soc.*, XXV (Apr., 1932), 5-48; Reinhard H. Luthin, "The Democratic Split during Buchanan's Administration," *Pennsylvania Hist.*, XI (Jan., 1944), 13-35.

⁸⁷ Sidney D. Brummer, *Political History of the State of New York during the Period of the Civil War* (New York, 1911), chaps. i-III; Louis D. Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York State* (New York, 1901), chaps. iv-x; John A. Krout, "The Maine Law in New York Politics," *New York History*, XVII (July, 1936), 260-72; Milledge L. Bonham, jr., "New York and the Election of 1860," *ibid.*, XV (Apr., 1934), 124-43.

⁸⁸ William G. Bean, "Party Transformation in Massachusetts with Special Reference to the Antecedents of the Republican Party, 1848-1860," Ph.D. dissertation in manuscript form, submitted to Harvard University in 1932; *id.*, "Puritan versus Celt," *New Eng. Quar.*, VII (Mar., 1934), 70-89; George H. Haynes, "The Causes of Know-Nothing Success in Massachusetts," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, III, 67-82.

⁸⁹ Kuhn, p. 160 and n.; Joseph G. Rayback, "Land for the Landless: The Contemporary View," M.A. thesis in manuscript form, submitted to Western Reserve University in 1936; George M. Stephenson, *Political History of the Public Lands From 1840 to 1862* (Boston, 1917), pp. 221-53; In 1861 Representative Owen Lovejoy of Illinois declared that if homestead had not been pledged, "the Republicans never could have elected their President." See *Cong. Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., p. 39.

⁹⁰ Kuhn, pp. 92-98, 108-109, 118-21, 126-29, 146-49; Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago* (New York and London, 1940), II, 191, 204, 213, 219; Wilmer C. Harris, *Public Life of Zachariah Chandler, 1851-1875* (Lansing, 1917), pp. 17-18, 46; *Chicago Press and Tribune*, Mar. 5, Apr. 16, 1860; *Detroit Daily Tribune*, May 3, 1860.

⁹¹ J. H. Purdy to Chase, Nov. 5, 1856, Salmon P. Chase Papers; Alexander K. McClure, *Colonel Alexander K. McClure's Recollections of Half a Century* (Salem, 1902), pp. 72 ff.; George T. Clark, *Leland Stanford* (Stanford University, 1931), pp. 163-66; Joseph Ellison, *California and the Nation, 1850-1869* (Berkeley, 1927), pp. 152, 171; *New York Herald*, Sept. 9, 22, 1856; *Memoirs of Cornelius Cole* (New York, 1908), pp. 118, 133; Woodward, pp. 59, 72, 86, 97, 101; Curtis Nettels, "The Overland Mail Issue during the Fifties," *Missouri Hist. Rev.*, XVIII (July, 1924), 534.

election into Congress with unpredictable results.⁹² The forces, economic, political, and moral, which elected Lincoln were summarized by McMichael's protectionist Philadelphia *North American*:⁹³

The people have elected Abraham Lincoln President of the United States. This result was clearly foreshadowed when Pennsylvania decided by her great majority. . . . Pennsylvania, particularly, demanded that the principle of protecting American industries should be recognized and avowed. . . . Economy in the conduct of the government, homesteads for settlers on the public domain, retrenchment and accountability in the public expenditures, appropriations for rivers and harbors, a Pacific Railroad, the admission of Kansas, and a radical reform in the government, all entered into the canvass and contributed to the election of Lincoln. No one issue controlled it. . . . We have thus seen that slavery was not the dominating idea of the Presidential contest, as has been assumed, but that various national influences co-operated to produce the result which has been witnessed.

Following Lincoln's triumph, certain elements within the Republican ranks—particularly the former Democrats who had gone over to Lincoln on the antislavery and "free land" issues—resented their new party's tendencies toward protectionism. Now that victory had come, they did not remain seduced by the beauties of the "Whiggish" American System.⁹⁴ But President-elect Lincoln did not flinch. Endeavoring to live up to the platform on which he had campaigned, he considered his election a mandate to shield the home market from competition of European goods. In an address at Pittsburgh in mid-February, 1861, while en route to Washington for his inauguration, he read the twelfth plank of the Chicago platform. Then he continued:⁹⁵

As with all general propositions, doubtless there will be shades of difference in construing this. I have by no means a thoroughly matured judgment upon this subject, especially as to details: some general ideas are about all. I have long thought to produce any necessary article at home which can be made of as good quality and with as little labor at home as abroad would be better made at home, at least by the difference of the carrying from abroad. In such a case the carrying is demonstrably a dead loss of labor. For instance, labor being the true standard of value, is it not plain that if equal labor gets a bar of railroad iron out of a mine in England and another out of a mine in Pennsylvania each can be laid down in a track at home cheaper than they could exchange countries, at least by the cost of carriage.

If there be a present cause why one can be both made and carried cheaper in money price than the other can be made without carrying, that cause is an un-

⁹² Pitkin, "The Tariff and the Early Republican Party," pp. 245-46; Myers, p. 297; Fred A. Shannon, *Economic History of the United States* (New York, 1934), p. 241.

⁹³ Philadelphia *North American and United States Gazette* in Spencer Miller, jr., "The Economic Aspects of the Campaign of 1860," M.A. thesis in manuscript form, submitted to Columbia University in 1914, chapter entitled "Conclusion."

⁹⁴ Hunsberger, pp. 53-56; George W. Julian, "The Death-Struggle of the Republican Party," *North American Review*, CXXVI (1878), 266; *The Writings of James Russell Lowell* (Riverside ed., Boston and New York, 1894), V, 35.

⁹⁵ Lincoln's address at Pittsburgh, Feb. 15, 1861, printed in *New York Daily Tribune*, Feb. 16, 1861.

natural and injurious one, and ought gradually, if not rapidly, be removed. The condition of the treasury at this time would seem to render an early revision of the tariff indispensable. The Morrill tariff bill now pending before Congress may or may not become a law. I am not posted as to its particular provisions, but if they are generally satisfactory, and the bill shall now pass, there will be an end of the matter for the present.

Meanwhile, as Lincoln prepared for his inaugural, South Carolina had led several Southern states out of the Union. Pennsylvania's Democratic senator, William Bigler, appealed to the South:⁹⁶

The most potent influence that caused many Northern men to aid the Republican party was the tariff question. Manufacturers and miners believed the Democratic party prejudiced to their protection; and therefore had gone over to the Republicans. No man is warranted in saying that the State of Pennsylvania will adhere to the [antislavery] doctrine of the Republican party.

Bigler's hopes that his state might forsake Lincoln were not to be realized. For influential Republicans, subordinating the slavery extension issue, were determined to hold the Keystone State in line by paying the campaign debt. Morrill, wanting the raw wool of his own Vermont protected, had revived his bill raising the import duties.⁹⁷ The Pennsylvania appeal went to Republican congressmen: "Pass it [the Morrill bill] and we can permanently hold the State. . . . 'Protection' as a principle of Republicanism is worth to us 100,000 votes at least any day."⁹⁸ And Henry C. Carey exhorted: "Without it, Mr. Lincoln's administration will be dead *before the day of inauguration*."⁹⁹

Lincoln had no opportunity to act on the Morrill bill. Before he took the oath of office as President, Congress passed the measure on a party vote. Democratic "low-tariff" senators having withdrawn to follow the road of secession, the Democratic majority was transformed into a Republican majority in the upper branch of Congress; the House was already Republican.¹⁰⁰ Morrill, John Sherman of Ohio, and Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania steered the bill through the House;¹⁰¹ Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania and James F. Simmons of Rhode Island, a wealthy textile millowner,¹⁰² guided

⁹⁶ Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, Dec. 12, 1860.

⁹⁷ Ida M. Tarbell, *The Tariff in Our Times* (New York, 1911), pp. 3-4.

⁹⁸ Henry C. Baird to Trumbull, Feb. 18, 1861, Lyman Trumbull Papers, Library of Congress.

⁹⁹ Carey to Jed Peters (copy), Feb. 19, 1861, Carey Papers, Box 62.

¹⁰⁰ *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 sess., p. 1065; John Sherman, *Recollections of Forty Years* (Chicago, 1895), I, 187.

¹⁰¹ William B. Parker, *The Life and Public Services of Justin Smith Morrill* (Boston and New York, 1924), pp. 108-12; Georgian M. Lady, "John Sherman's Career in the House of Representatives, 1855-1861," M.A. thesis in manuscript form, submitted to Ohio State University in 1938, pp. 53-54; Samuel W. McCall, *Thaddeus Stevens* (Boston and New York, 1899), pp. 104-106.

¹⁰² *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, IX, 498-99.

it through the Senate.¹⁰³ On March 2, 1861—two days before Lincoln's inauguration—President Buchanan, himself a Pennsylvanian, signed the bill.

Historians are not unanimous as to the relative importance which Southern fear and hatred of a high tariff had in causing the secession of the slave states, but there has been a growing tendency to lay more emphasis on it than formerly.¹⁰⁴ This much seems evident: except among a minority of Pennsylvania manufacturers,¹⁰⁵ there was little widespread demand for the Morrill act, first important legislative milepost marking the journey of industrial and financial capitalism to a dominant position in the nation. Morrill himself admitted that his measure "was not asked for, and but coldly received by manufacturers, who always and justly fear instability."¹⁰⁶ Rather, the demand for protection had been incorporated into the Chicago platform almost exclusively to cater to Pennsylvania.¹⁰⁷ And even the Keystone State coal and iron producers did not work too energetically to aid the passage of the Morrill bill. While it was pending in Congress, the Washington correspondent of McMichael's Philadelphia *North American*, James E. Harvey, diligently lobbying for its passage, complained:¹⁰⁸

Iron gentlemen stay at home, & saddle us who are toiling for bread day & night, as is my case, with the care of their interests. They make periodical excursions here & talk, but expect us to drum up votes, button-hole members, and argue their cases for patriotic considerations . . . I will try & see the Morrill bill through.

That certain elements within Lincoln's party harbored "low-tariff" views was all too well known to that renowned "high-tariff" doctrinaire Henry C. Carey, who had eulogized the Morrill act as "the most important measure ever adopted by Congress."¹⁰⁹ In alarm Carey concluded that the Treasury Department, charged with administering tariff legislation, was filled with "free traders" who were unsympathetic toward the new tariff.¹¹⁰ Lincoln was a reader of Carey's works on political economy, and evidently Carey was

¹⁰³ William Elder to Carey, Feb. 15, 1861; James S. Pike to Carey, Mar. 2, 1861, Carey Papers; Tarbell, p. 7; Crippen, p. 284.

¹⁰⁴ John W. Stormont, "The Economic Stake of the North in the Preservation of the Union in 1861," Ph.D. dissertation in manuscript form, submitted to the University of Texas in 1941, pp. 20-21, 24, 30, 232 ff.; Russel, pp. 181 ff., 245; J. G. Van Deusen, *Economic Bases of Disunion in South Carolina*, pp. 328-29; Philip S. Foner, *Business & Slavery* (Chapel Hill, 1941), chap. XIII; P. L. Rainwater, "Economic Benefits of Secession: Opinions in Mississippi in the 1850's," *Journal of Southern History* (Nov., 1935), I, 469-71.

¹⁰⁵ Pitkin, "The Tariff and the Early Republican Party," p. 212.

¹⁰⁶ Faulkner, "The Development of the American System," *An. Am. Acad. Pol. and Social Sci.*, CXXI, 14.

¹⁰⁷ Pike to Carey, Mar. 2, 1861; James E. Harvey to Carey, "Thursday," Carey Papers, Box 68; Hunsberger, pp. 65 ff.

¹⁰⁸ Harvey to Carey, "Thursday," Carey Papers, Box 68.

¹⁰⁹ Morrill, "Notable Letters from My Political Friends," *Forum*, XXIV, 146.

¹¹⁰ Carey to Scranton (copy), Mar. 30, 1861, Carey Papers, Box 62.

aware of this.¹¹¹ Accordingly, it was not surprising that the President should be visited by Carey. Lincoln agreed to appoint Carey's friend and fellow warrior in the protectionist crusade, Dr. William Elder, to an important post in the "Tariff Region" of the Treasury Department, which was charged with administering the Morrill act.¹¹² Dr. Elder was "*the man to teach them*,"¹¹³ Carey commented. Carey now attempted to persuade Lincoln to lean farther toward the protectionist side. In June, 1861, he wrote the President: "Had the policy advocated by Mr. Clay, as embodied in the tariff of 1842, been maintained, there could have been no secession, and for the reason, that the southern mineral region would long since have obtained control of the planting one."¹¹⁴

Just how far under normal conditions Lincoln would have gone along with Carey's views cannot be said. The necessity of financing the war against the Confederacy forced the President to favor a rise in import duties as a source of revenue. In a message to Congress shortly after the firing on Fort Sumter, he pointed to the reports of the Secretaries of the Treasury, War, and Navy as giving the information necessary for deliberation and action.¹¹⁵ Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase, a low-tariff man throughout his career,¹¹⁶ reluctantly recommended a rise in import duties as part of his program to finance the war.¹¹⁷ Soon he was consulting with Morrill, who, in league with Carey, had plans afoot to boost the tariff rates still higher.¹¹⁸ Congress accordingly passed the tariff act of August 5, 1861, which raised the Morrill levels. Lincoln signed the measure.¹¹⁹ Morrill's tariff legislation of March 2 and August 5, 1861, nearly doubled the rates of import duties that were exacted by the tariff of 1857.¹²⁰

Under the stress of war, high tariffs were easily passed by successive Republican majorities in Congress and approved by Lincoln. The President's

¹¹¹ Herndon to Weik, January 1, 1886, in Hertz, p. 117.

¹¹² Carey to Scranton (copy), Mar. 30, 1861, Carey Papers, Box 62; William Elder to Carey, Mar. 21, June 20, 1861, *ibid.*, Box 65. For Elder, see Elizabeth Donnan's sketch in *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, 68.

¹¹³ Carey to Scranton (copy), Mar. 30, 1861, Carey Papers, Box 62.

¹¹⁴ Carey to Lincoln (copy), June 20, 1861, *ibid.*, Box 62. Robert E. Thompson writes that Carey "had the opportunity to explain to Mr. Lincoln the sectionalizing and disuniting tendencies of Free Trade." See Thompson, "Henry Charles Carey," *Penn Monthly*, X (1879), 825.

¹¹⁵ James D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, 1897), VI, 26.

¹¹⁶ Reinhard H. Luthin, "Salmon P. Chase's Political Career before the Civil War," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XXIX (Mar., 1943), 529, 531.

¹¹⁷ Tarbell, pp. 9-10; Sidney Ratner, *A Political and Social History of Federal Taxation, 1789-1913* (New York, 1942), p. 63.

¹¹⁸ Morrill to Carey, July 6, 1861, Carey Papers, Box 74.

¹¹⁹ Guy S. Livingston, "The First Years of the War Tariff, 1861 to 1870," M.A. thesis in manuscript form, submitted to the University of North Dakota in 1933, pp. 13-18.

¹²⁰ Samuel S. Cox, *Three Decades of Federal Legislation, 1855 to 1885* (Providence, 1885), pp. 135 ff. Cox was a Democratic member of Congress from Ohio and violently anti-Lincoln.

call on July 1 for three hundred thousand additional troops was a harbinger of the increased demands which in the future would be made upon the Treasury. Moreover, the Pacific Railway Act, with its Federal land grant and loan to aid the construction of a line between the Missouri River and California, and the Agricultural College Act (also sponsored by Morrill) further burdened the Federal Treasury at this time. Ostensibly to meet some of these additional needs, the Tariff Act of July 14, 1862, was passed—and approved by Lincoln. Designed to increase duties to offset the previously enacted internal taxes, the measure aided the home manufacturer. Customs duties were raised to an average of 37 per cent, and the free list established by Morrill's act of 1861 was cut down by nearly one half. These upward changes became the basis for the even higher duties of the 1864 tariff.¹²¹

Congress supported Lincoln in his insistence on means for finishing the war. In June, 1864, a new tariff bill was passed by both houses of Congress. Lincoln approved it on June 30, and it went into effect at once. Under it duties rose from the 37 per cent of the bill of 1862 to over 47 per cent, which added its quota to an appallingly high cost of living. But the majority of the public endured it, grimly convinced that there was no other way to end the war.¹²²

The wartime tariff acts did indeed enable Lincoln to raise funds with which to vanquish the Confederacy.¹²³ In the process, however, manufacturers, desirous of shielding their products from foreign competition, found their opportunity in the financial needs of the government. They secured a high degree of protection.¹²⁴ While the main reasons for the war tariffs, which Lincoln approved, were the need of revenue for the government and the desire to compensate the various interests imposed upon by the internal imposts,¹²⁵ the final shape of the tariffs enacted during the war was largely owing to the endeavors of protected manufacturers to gain each for himself the greatest possible advantage irrespective of the other's interests. Above all, the habits engendered during this period of comprehensive protection to

¹²¹ Ratner, pp. 77-78.

¹²² Tarbell, pp. 20-23; Faulkner, "The Development of the American System," *Am. Acad. Pol. and Social Sci.*, CXLI, 14-15; [James Dawson Burn], *Three Years among the Working-Classes in the United States during the War* (London, 1865), p. 184.

¹²³ In 1861 the duties received from imports amounted to \$39,582,186; in 1862, \$49,056,398; in 1863, \$69,059,642; in 1864, \$102,316,153. These figures are from "Report of the Special Commissioner of Revenue," *Senate Executive Document*, No. 2, 39 Cong., 2 sess., serial 1276, pp. 8-9.

¹²⁴ Edward Stanwood, himself a protectionist, wrote of the manufacturers: "The Bill [of 1864] is full of examples of their prowess." See his *American Tariff Controversies in the Nineteenth Century* (Boston and New York, 1902), II, 129.

¹²⁵ Norbert R. Mahnken, "The Congressmen of the Grain Belt States and Tariff Legislation, 1865-1890," Ph.D. dissertation in manuscript form, submitted to the University of Nebraska in 1941, p. 1.

almost everything led to a crystallization of the sentiment in favor of national economic exclusion and isolation. For many decades American commercial policy was molded by the feelings and habits generated during Lincoln's wartime administration.¹²⁶

After he reached Washington to assume the presidency in 1861, Lincoln rarely considered the tariff other than as a method to raise money.¹²⁷ Certain it was that Henry C. Carey, who had repeated consultations with Lincoln during the war,¹²⁸ was keenly disappointed at the lack of attention manifested toward the question by the President, who was always so deeply absorbed in the political and military aspects of the war. And early in February, 1865, Carey gave vent to his feelings:¹²⁹ "Protection made Mr. Lincoln president. Protection has given him all the success he has achieved, yet has he never, so far as I can recollect, bestowed upon her a single word of thanks. When he and she part company, he will go to the wall."

What Lincoln's course would have been toward the tariff had he lived cannot be determined. For decades following his death, however, protectionists, in summoning testimony from "the Fathers," made full use of Lincoln's high-tariff record to bolster their claims that huge duties on imports were economically sound and socially desirable; at times the more zealous, in combating free trade, misquoted Lincoln and even concocted orations which they attributed to him.¹³⁰ Nevertheless, under him the American nation went definitely on a high-tariff program, and to Lincoln's party Henry C. Carey's principles became an act of faith.

¹²⁶ Richmond Mayo-Smith and Edwin R. A. Seligman, "The Commercial Policy of the United States, 1860-1890," *Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik*, XLIX (Leipzig, 1892), 13-14.

¹²⁷ Tarbell, p. 20.

¹²⁸ "Champions of Protection: Henry Charles Carey," *Home Market Bulletin*, IX (Boston, 1898), 4.

¹²⁹ Carey to Noah H. Swayne (copy), enclosed in Swayne to Carey, Feb. 4, 1865, Carey Papers, Box 78.

¹³⁰ George B. Curtiss, *The Industrial Development of Nations* (Binghamton, 1912), II, 431; III, 6; *American Economist*, June 29, 1894, p. 323; Philadelphia *Ledger*, quoted in New York *Evening Post*, Apr. 8, 1914. For an analysis of these apocryphal phrases attributed to Lincoln, see James G. Randall, "The Historian as Revisionist," *Indiana History Bulletin*, XV (Feb., 1938), 93; F. W. Taussig, "Abraham Lincoln on the Tariff: A Myth," *Quar. Jour. Ec.*, XXVIII (1914), 814-20; "Lincoln on the Tariff," New York *Evening Post*, Apr. 10, 1914.

American Experience with Military Government

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IN the autumn of 1943, after Italy had fallen and when the ultimate defeat of Germany had become a certainty, the appropriate authorities at the national capital approved the *United States Army and Navy Manual of Military Government and Civil Affairs*.¹ The event was significant. The action symbolized the close co-operation that has characterized the two services in the present conflict; it established identity of doctrine in an area of vast importance; and it made clear that thinking on the relation of war to civil populations had been made adequate to the complexities of modern civilization. The opening paragraph says:

The term "military government" is used in this manual to describe the supreme authority exercised by an armed force over the lands, property, and the inhabitants of enemy territory, or allied or domestic territory recovered from enemy occupation, or from rebels treated as belligerents. It is exercised when an armed force has occupied such territory, whether by force or by agreement, and has substituted its authority for that of the sovereign or a previous government. Sovereignty is not transferred by reason of occupation, but the right of control passes to the occupying

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¹ The two manuals governing military government are *Rules of Land Warfare* (Washington, 1940) and the *United States Army and Navy Manual of Military Government and Civil Affairs* (Washington, 1943). The Historical Section of the Army War College has turned out a number of studies which exist in manuscript form. Of these the most important are: Lieutenant Colonel James A. O'Brien, "Military Government in New Mexico and California" (July, 1943); *id.*, "Military Government of Mexico by American Forces under General Winfield Scott" (May, 1943); Major Hamilton V. Bail, "The Military Government of Cuba, 1898-1902" (June, 1943); Colonel R. C. Humber, "Military Government in the Philippines" (June, 1943); and Lieutenant Colonel Oliver S. McCleary, "The Armistice Terminating Hostilities in World War I" (May, 1943). The Office of Records Administration of the Navy Department, under the supervision of Dr. R. G. Albion, recorder of Naval Administration, Secretary's Office, Navy Department, and others, has published in mimeograph the following: A. C. Davidonis, *The American Naval Mission in the Adriatic, 1918-1921*; and Henry P. Beers, *American Naval Occupation and Government of Guam, 1898-1902*. A source of great importance is the so-called "Hunt Report" in four mimeographed volumes. Volume I is entitled *Report of the Officer in Charge of Civil Affairs, Third Army and American Forces in Germany, 1918-1920*. Volume II is entitled *American Representation in Germany, 1920-1921*. Volumes III and IV are compilations of selected documents of the occupation. Volume I was published by the Government Printing Office in 1943. A valuable analysis of the occupation of the Rhineland by Ernst Fraenkel has been brought out in mimeograph by the Institute of World Affairs and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, entitled *Occupation Government in the Rhineland, 1918-1923* (no date). For published works concerning various occupations see the standard bibliographical aids.

force, limited only by international law and custom. The theater commander bears full responsibility for military government. He is, therefore, usually designated as military governor, but may delegate both his authority and title to a subordinate commander.

The *Army and Navy Manual*, which opens with this definition, is not the result of the improvisation of the moment. It is the fruit of experience, knowledge gained from a large number of experiences scattered through a century of American history.

The beginnings of that development in military thought which resulted in the *Manual* bring out the problems involved in civil affairs and the basic principles necessary for their solution. The American origins of the policies and philosophy expressed in the *Rules of Land Warfare* and the *Army and Navy Manual* may be found in the events of the year 1846 when the United States became involved in a war with Mexico. The decisions of that year and the policies carried out in the months which followed it established foundations on which later military thinkers built. But these foundations were laid in the matrix of mid-nineteenth century American democratic thought. They were, in fact, established in the midst of a war which was opposed on reasons of principle by a powerful and articulate minority—a war which was condemned in scathing verse by the militant Lowell and which inspired Thoreau to write his manifesto on *Civil Disobedience*. Thoreau voiced a fundamental postulate of American thinking in that period when he insisted that human society rests on a moral law that is of the essence of Nature and that the first duty of the individual is to this code. James Kent and Justice Story insisted that in this fundamental law all human law finds its source.

The old argument as to the origin and the justice of the war against Mexico is not relevant to our present purposes. The conflict came about, and it had to be fought through to a successful conclusion. Its importance for the development of American military thought lies in the fact that it was the first conflict in which the United States was involved in extensive military operations beyond its national boundaries. The year 1846 saw Kearny invade New Mexico and Taylor cross the Rio Grande to begin a deep penetration into the sparsely settled plains of northern Mexico. Before the year had run out, official Washington had become convinced that the Taylor expedition could not force a peace, and the President had decided to give to Scott the mission of taking the enemy capital by an invasion which should begin at Vera Cruz. The question confronting the men of 1846 was what should be the relation between invading American armies and the civil populations of the regions they occupied.

Rhett of South Carolina rose in the House of Representatives in December, 1846, to state his understanding of the meaning of those terms "laws of war" and "laws of nations," which some members had affirmed controlled the actions of conquerors of foreign lands. For Rhett the phrase "laws of nations" connoted naked power. It made the conqueror, he said, a "despot; he might do what he pleased—might cut off the head of a judge if he pleased. . . . So far as the laws of nations was concerned he had a legal right to do his pleasure." Rhett recalled the maxim "*Inter arma leges silent*." But Rhett, who thought himself a realist in legal matters, could not escape the religious convictions that governed his life. He added a qualification: Congress might judge of the "morality" of the acts of the commander in chief in his role as conqueror. Rhett's realism did not express the temper of the House. There were many who rose to reply to the South Carolinian, but none did so more effectively than James A. Seddon, a young attorney from Virginia and a newcomer to the House. Seddon said:

In those barbarous ages when the maxim originated, it may have been true that "*inter arma leges silent*". . . . But mere force . . . no longer rules with unbridled sway. . . . It is the boast of modern times, the blessing to Christendom of Christianity and civilization, that in war, as in peace, a code of law to govern all international relations, founded in part on the practices of nations, but more correctly binding, as deduced from the most sacred principles of justice and the highest ethics of morality and humanity, has by general comity and common convictions been established and recognised. . . . The worst of all conditions for a people is to be without government at all—a prey to anarchy and confusion, with their rights, their property, and their persons, at the mercy of the ruffian, or the ravisher, whose excesses no law restrains and no justice punishes. For a conqueror to overthrow an existing polity, and leave a submissive people to such horrors, would be such a tyranny as no principle of humanity or law could tolerate.²

Seddon spoke for the great majority of his colleagues. They relegated the realism of "*Inter arma leges silent*" to the distant, barbarous past. They believed in progress and they defined civilization in moral terms. The men of 1846 would not have believed it possible that within a century a great power would deliberately withdraw from a conquered population that security which government gives to the individual and adopt this policy as the most efficacious method of compelling the conquered, if they wished to survive, to co-operate with the conqueror. The episode occurred in Hong Kong between December, 1941, and April, 1942. It is an example of the philosophy of power politics carried to its logical conclusion.

Seddon and his congressional colleagues in 1846, in expressing their philosophy, did not go beyond the vague generalization that American com-

² *Congressional Globe*, 29 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 23-24.

manders in Mexico should be limited and controlled by the "laws of nations" and the affirmation that these laws stemmed ultimately from the fundamental moral law. Such generalizations were of little use in the field. The first year of the war brought reports to Washington that Taylor's force in northern Mexico was guilty of atrocities. His soldiers, and particularly his partially trained volunteers, left an unfortunate record of robbery, murder, and rape behind them along the Rio Grande and in the interior. Nor was all the evil conduct due to lack of discipline. The Texans in his army vented upon the Mexicans a hatred born of the atrocities committed by the troops of Santa Anna when that officer attempted to put down the Texas rebellion in 1836. These crimes of Taylor's men, in the opinion of Justin Smith, put an end to a separatist movement in the provinces north of the Mexican plateau that might have been used by the Americans to help their cause. Because of Taylor's failure, it fell to the lot of General Scott to give concrete meaning for a theater commander to those vague terms "laws of nations" and "laws of war." Scott is the outstanding pioneer in American military history in formulating and putting into effect the principles which have subsequently been fundamental to the American practice of military government and civil affairs.

When Scott was directed to lead the campaign that brought the war to an end, he planned his civil affairs as carefully as his military strategy. He saw the two as inextricably interrelated. His campaign is probably the best illustration in American military history of the importance of civil affairs control for military operations. It is discussed here both because of the clarity with which it brings out the military significance of civil affairs and because of its importance in making precedents.

Scott's mission was to take Vera Cruz, to cross a tropical lowland in pre-railroad days, to climb an escarpment nearly a mile and a half in height, and to cross a densely populated plateau to Mexico City. As he advanced, his lines of communication would increase in length. He was aware that the sense of nationalism was not well developed among the people along the invasion route, but he feared that the appearance of a hostile American army on the Mexican plateau would create that sense of nationalism and would transform an inert civil population into fighters determined to make any sacrifice to destroy or expel the invader. He sensed the possibility that his fate might well be that of Burgoyne. He developed his civil affairs policy in terms of legal control and of the winning of voluntary co-operation on the part of people of the occupied areas. These are the two focal points of any civil affairs policy.

Scott saw the necessity for complete control by the theater commander not only over his own troops but over the civil population among whom his army operated. He was aware that the *Articles of War* as they existed in 1846 did not provide a legal foundation which would permit the commander to punish the ordinary nonmilitary crimes which were included in the criminal codes of the states. It was expected that such offenses, when committed by soldiers within the territorial limits of the United States, would be handled by state tribunals. Scott requested of President Polk a recommendation to Congress for a revision of the *Articles of War* in order to give the theater commander proper legal authority when operating in foreign territory. Polk declined. The general, thereupon, before he left Washington for the field, drew up a memorandum in which he detailed a plan to establish the necessary legal authority to ensure control over his own troops and a conquered population. His suggested device was to proclaim martial law and to proceed under the powers so established. Secretary of War Marcy read the memorandum as did also Polk's Attorney General. These high officials neither approved nor disapproved. The Polk administration refused to take responsibility.

The reason for this avoidance of responsibility by the highest policy-making authority is not far to seek. Jacksonian democracy was still at flood tide. Polk himself, scarcely a decade before, had been one of Jackson's staunchest congressional supporters. Few phrases aroused more resentment among the individualistic and equalitarian supporters of Old Hickory than the words "martial law." They seemed to deny those basic postulates of American democratic practice that law must be above government and that civil authority must transcend military power. Martial law and military government seemed to turn democratic practices upside down. The connotation of martial law was tyranny. The Polk administration was afraid to use martial law even in Mexico. Perhaps the President and his Secretary of War recalled that Scott was a Whig and that there might be political advantage in letting him shoulder the public displeasure at the use of a hated power. Scott left for Mexico in ignorance of the administration's policy with respect to civil affairs control.

On February 19, 1847, at Tampico, where he made his first headquarters, the commanding general issued what became famous as General Orders No. 20,³ later to be reissued in every important city that was occupied by his troops. The order pointed out the inadequacies of the Articles of War

³ For copy of order see Justin H. Smith, *The War with Mexico* (New York, 1919), II, 455-56.

and emphasized the need for a supplementary code for dealing not only with soldiers but with the civil population. Scott called that supplementary code martial law, and the order duly proclaimed this. The order then listed the offenses known to ordinary criminal law and provided for the punishment of offenders whether they were Americans or Mexicans. For the trial and judgment of accused persons the order set up the military commission, a tribunal hitherto unknown to the American military service. The present provost courts and military commissions stem directly from General Orders No. 20. This document gave specific content to the vague term "laws of war" and provided for adequate enforcement of these laws. When Scott issued General Orders No. 20, he could not foresee the future, and he had the warning of the obvious fear of the Polk administration with respect to martial law. In hazarding the experiment, the commanding general risked his career. In this case the task of the military governor required moral courage of the highest order.

In the hands of Scott the system of martial law was a complete success. In spite of the fact that he had many poorly disciplined volunteer troops in his command, crimes and disorders were rare. Offending American soldiers and Mexican citizens were brought to trial and subjected to punishment with complete impartiality. The evidence is conclusive that the contrast between an occupation by Scott's army and one by Santa Anna's undisciplined horde was not lost on the Mexican population. Scott's formula for control was adequate for the purposes of his campaign. With public order guaranteed, it was easy for Scott to get co-operation from local officials who, during the stay of the American troops, carried on their functions as usual. Here is the normal pattern of military government. The native administrative officials of the occupied region execute the laws of the country subject to control by the military governor and with such changes in the local laws as are called for by military necessity.

But Scott's civil affairs plan also included public relations. According to the theory of the Polk administration the United States was fighting only the Mexican government; it had no quarrel with the people. Scott was sincere in an identical understanding of his task. He cultivated the Mexican civil population because he had no war with them and for the purpose of strengthening himself against Santa Anna and the Mexican army. He refused to follow an administrative suggestion that he requisition without payment supplies from the country through which he passed. He paid for the goods he required. He emphasized in a series of proclamations issued as he advanced into the country that he was fighting the Santa Anna govern-

ment and that he desired to be friends with the civil population. At Jalapa, Scott and his generals attended the funeral of a worthy Mexican officer who was killed at Cerro Gordo. From the beginning of his campaign Scott cultivated the Mexican Catholics. He not only understood the importance of the church for the common people but he was aware of the antagonisms between the Mexican hierarchy and the Santa Anna regime. Scott, a Protestant, attended mass in Vera Cruz and marched in a religious procession. In that city he required his soldiers to salute local Mexican magistrates and priests. He took this action at a time when anti-Catholic agitation in the United States was at a peak. On the advance inland he saw to it that no desecration of any church occurred. The only exceptions were churches used by Mexican troops for military purposes. Aided by the activities of a mysterious agent from the United States, Moses Y. Beach, Scott impressed the clergy with the sincerity of his guarantee not only to the church but to the people of their freedom and their property. This formula has also become standard operating procedure in civil affairs, freedom in Mexico as in occupied countries today being limited only by the demands of military necessity. The Mexican hierarchy decided to support American efforts for peace and to oppose Santa Anna as the chief obstacle to peace. The result was Jalapa.

Jalapa, beautiful city high on the eastern escarpment, was the scene of one of the most extraordinary episodes in American military history. It is hard for soldiers in the twentieth century to understand what happened there. Scott's invading army was well advanced into Mexico; the line of communications from Vera Cruz was long. Santa Anna's force, though defeated, was again growing. While Scott paused at Jalapa, a third of his troops took the road for Vera Cruz and home. Their terms of enlistment had expired and they had refused to re-enlist. When they were gone, Scott had 7,113 men left. Re-enforcements were slow in coming. Yet, even as the volunteers marched toward Vera Cruz and the United States, Scott sent an expedition, four thousand strong, far into the plateau to storm and take the city of Puebla. Why did not the Mexican people, turned irregulars, swarm against Scott's overextended lines and, surrounding the tiny force left at Jalapa, cut off his communications with Vera Cruz? Why was Scott, instead of facing a Saratoga, able to make a forward thrust even as he lost a third of his army? The reason is found primarily in Scott's civil affairs policy. Scott had not turned the civil population into desperate guerrillas determined to avenge indignities, looting, and atrocities. The commanding general had, on the contrary, won co-operation that carried him triumphantly through the most critical moment of his campaign. The Catholic hierarchy of Mexico, opposing

Santa Anna and favoring peace, had arranged secretly to have Jalapa, Puebla, and important towns beyond them refrain from opposing Scott. Jalapa is one of the outstanding civil affairs victories in American military history.

In Scott's Mexican campaign, military strategy and the strategy of civil affairs were blended into a perfect pattern. The operation illustrates two basic principles, namely, that before the end of hostilities the function of military government is primarily to assist the armed forces in the accomplishment of their mission and that normally military necessity is best served by providing so far as possible for the vital needs of the conquered population. These principles are fundamental to American military thinking in the second World War. In a time, moreover, when international law was not well developed, Scott in General Orders No. 20 and in the precedents set by his whole civil affairs policy gave for the American Army specific meaning to the vague phrase "laws of war." He demonstrated that, although in military government the military authority rises above the civil in the occupied area, the military governor in fact is governed by laws which transcend his power. These laws are today set forth in the *Rules of Land Warfare*, and their application in a theater of operations is guided by the principles elaborated in the *Army and Navy Manual of Military Government and Civil Affairs*. Winfield Scott is the father of American civil affairs practice.

Scott's work was that of a pioneer. The operations of the Civil War provided additional experience. In that conflict the problems of civil affairs were explored on several occasions, and Federal occupation officials gave examples of good and bad military government. The Butler regime in New Orleans, in spite of some excellent features, has remained notorious for the evils which finally caused the general to be relieved. Sherman's short tour of duty as military governor of Memphis in 1862 provides an example of an efficient and humane management of a local area. In 1865, when Richmond fell, the government of the city was turned over to a civil affairs officer who had acquired skill and understanding of this branch of the military art through long experience at New Orleans. Out of the Civil War also came War Department General Orders No. 100.

This famous order, published on April 24, 1863, was made necessary by the advancement of the Federal lines into the Confederacy. It was a conscious effort to carry into the office of the military governor the old American concept of a government of laws and not of men. General Orders No. 100 was the first formal attempt on the part of a national government, either in Europe or in America, to translate the phrase "laws of war" into a developed code. This remarkable document, which promptly acquired fame in Europe,

was written by Francis Lieber and revised by a board of officers under the chairmanship of Major General E. S. Hitchcock. It was entitled *Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field* and published as a manual in 1863. It covered the whole area of the relations between an invading army and the civil population of an occupied territory. That Lieber used Scott's General Orders No. 20 as a springboard is suggested by the opening sentence of the *Instructions*, which reads, "A place, district, or country occupied by an enemy stands, in consequence of the occupation, under the Martial Law of the invading or occupying army, whether any proclamation declaring Martial Law, or any public warning to the inhabitants, has been issued or not." But the similarities between the philosophies of Lieber and of Scott are not limited to the concept of martial law as the legal framework for military government and civil affairs. The thought of both men grew out of the same general assumptions concerning a fundamental moral law that provided the ultimate frame of reference for mid-nineteenth century American thought. Lieber said:

Martial Law is simply military authority exercised in accordance with the laws and usages of war. . . . Military oppression is not Martial Law; it is the abuse of the power which that law confers. . . . As Martial Law is executed by military force, it is incumbent on those who administer it to be strictly guided by the principles of justice, honor, and humanity—virtues adorning a soldier even more than other men, for the very reason that he possesses the power of his arms against the unarmed.

As Lieber wrote these sentences, I cannot help believing he was thinking of his three boys. One of them had joined the Confederate Army and gave his life for the cause of Southern independence. Two were in the Union Army, and one, before Lieber wrote General Orders No. 100, had lost an arm at Donelson. The Lieber family epitomized American history and symbolized the American people and nation. The father had been driven from Europe for his liberalism and in his adopted country had become an intense nationalist. His sons divided, even as the Union divided. There is a certain fitness in the fact that the first American effort to formulate the laws of war was made by an aging man in whose home the travail of national division and civil conflict had come to focus. Lieber, in the midst of hatred and carnage, strove to preserve for his sons and their generation those values which were the core of civilization in both North and South. "Men who take up arms against one another in public war," he wrote, and President Lincoln approved, "do not cease on this account to be moral beings, responsible to one another and to God."

After long and hard fighting Appomattox came. Then followed uneasy

months when the first efforts were made to re-establish the exhausted South in the Union. Finally Congress, abandoning the values for which Lieber contended, forced upon the defeated ex-Confederates, through the device of military government, a peace founded on vindictiveness and hatred. Thaddeus Stevens became the symbol of a sad declension. The rule of the generals in the South was one of the longer American experiences with military government. It lasted nearly a decade. It was a postwar undertaking, the primary purpose of which was to force the will of the victor on a conquered people. It was the most ambitious use of military government for postwar purposes in American history and, as such, is worth a moment's consideration. The radicals who controlled Congress erected military governments in the South for the purpose of bringing about a political revolution in the defeated states. The foundation of suffrage on which local government rested was drastically altered. Military government strove to change the culture (the word is used in the anthropologist's sense) of the South, and the outcome of the experiment showed the South's great resistance to change. The last vestiges of the revolution which Stevens had effected in the former Confederacy disappeared in 1877 with the departure of the troops. The failure is not unique in American history. American experience has demonstrated that, although the military governor appears to come with unlimited power, there are limits to his ability to effect permanent changes in the culture of the people of an occupied region.

The use of military government in the post-Appomattox South was one among many American experiences with that form of rule which were not directly integrated with military operations. A survey of the use of military government in American history discloses a variety of missions given to military governors. One of the most common of these has been to maintain the *status quo* in the interim between the conclusion of military operations and the ratification of a treaty of peace. After the fall of Manila in August, 1898, and before the final action on the treaty with Spain by the United States Senate, an American army maintained military government in the capital city of the Philippines. Similar missions were given to military commanders in Cuba, in Puerto Rico, and in the Rhineland after the armistice of November 11, 1918. In the phase that follows the treaty of peace and in the case of military governments not associated with a war, the missions have been extraordinarily varied. A few illustrations will suggest the range of uses to which military government has been put.

In the Philippines, following the peace treaty, military government provided the transition between the termination of Spanish sovereignty and the establishment of civil administration by the United States. The Philippine

experiences were complicated by the fact that a native revolution, which had broken out before the Spanish-American War, continued to develop outside Manila during the months in which the policy-making authorities in Washington were coming to a decision as to what should be done with the islands. The final decision to make the islands a dependency of the United States caused the Aguinaldo movement to be directed against American authority, with the result that the second phase of military government in the archipelago was complicated by a war of pacification.

The military governors had the difficult task of putting down the revolution on the one hand and, on the other, of persuading the more or less inert masses of the people that the American government planned a beneficent rather than an exploitive rule. Many of the difficulties in the Philippine experience were due not only to economic ambition but to ignorance and naïveté at the national capital. The characteristics both of the islands and of the island peoples were virtually unknown to Americans. With the exception of their unhappy record in dealing with the Indian tribes, the Americans had no experience in governing peoples with less developed cultures. Traditionally the citizens of the United States had sought to destroy the cultures of the Indians and to substitute their own, a process which they called "civilizing" or "Americanizing" the red man. This same ideal of Americanization provided the background for both military and the early civil government in the Philippines. Ignorant, in the beginning, of the characteristics of many of the cultures with which they were dealing and imbued with the ideal of helping backward peoples up the ladder of progress, Americans in the Philippines learned the hard way that government, whether it be military or civil, must be adjusted to the culture of the peoples governed. The evolution that has taken place in American thought in this matter is best expressed by the statement of purpose behind the present educational system which provides for the needs of the Polynesian people of American Samoa:

To conserve the best of Samoan culture and at the same time to give acquaintance with the great intellectual tools and the social concepts and institutions of the West to the end that the Samoans may maintain respect for their native heritage . . . and at the same time [be able] to meet on equal terms with other peoples the conditions of the modern world.

That Americans finally learned the lesson of tolerance and won by beneficent local policy the confidence of the native people of the Philippines is shown in the number of Filipino soldiers who died beside our own troops on Bataan.

Samoa illustrates another use to which the United States has put military government. The islands of Tutuila in the Samoan group and of Guam in

the Ladrones have been, during the twentieth century, critical areas in the American naval strategy of the Pacific. For this reason the government of these islands has been a form of military government under the ultimate control of the Secretary of the Navy. The naval governors who administered the islands have been also civil governors, but they have never lost sight of the importance of their islands for the fleet. Military necessity has helped to shape the course of development in these overseas possessions. In both islands, due in part to the rather simple culture of the local populations, the governments have been paternalistic. In both areas, however, it is worth noting that the Americans did not follow the policy, used so frequently by the Japanese in Micronesia, of displacing the native population with immigrants. American naval authorities have assumed that the demands of military necessity would be best met by furthering the well-being of the natives. In particular, it was important for strategic reasons that the islands be as nearly as possible self-sufficient in food production. Samoa and Guam are the two longest military governments in American experience.

Cuba provides a contrast. In that country, after the treaty of peace with Spain, military government was a period of transition from the status of colony to that of independent nation. Spain had kept the Cuban people politically illiterate. American military government, responsible for giving to the individual Cuban the security and the example of efficient government he needed to prepare himself for the responsibilities ahead, was, of necessity, an elaborate organization. The Secretary of War, Elihu Root, summarized the policy which controlled American military government in Cuba:

It would have been a poor boon to Cuba to drive the Spaniards out and leave her to care for herself, with two-thirds of her people unable to read and write, and wholly ignorant of the art of self-government. . . . We are trying to give the Cuban people just as fair and favorable a start in governing themselves as possible. . . . To succeed in their experiment the Cubans must necessarily acquire some new ideas and new methods. This is a very hard thing for a whole people to do, and it cannot be done by having outsiders preach at them. It is something they have to do for themselves. The best that anybody else can do is to afford them opportunity of seeing and studying new methods.

Americans during the period of military government did not transform the culture of Cuba; they maintained order and let the Cubans themselves develop the political forms appropriate to a new day.

A final experience suggests the range of missions given to American military governors. In November, 1918, naval forces of France, Italy, and the United States, acting under a single committee yet each operating in a separate zone, began the occupation of the Dalmatian coast. The American

forces were not withdrawn until September, 1921. The Americans, who controlled the portion of the coast of greatest importance in the naval strategy of the Adriatic, were responsible for maintaining order on shore. The naval commander solved his problem by giving advice that was requested by the local Dalmatian government and by landing patrols from time to time to assist in maintaining order. The ostensible purpose of the occupation in its earlier months was the guarding of surrendered Austro-Hungarian warships pending their final disposition. The real purpose of American military government in this area was, however, to further President Wilson's policy of self-determination for the Yugoslavs. To accomplish this mission it was necessary for the naval governor to protect the local Dalmatian government from aggression on the part of the Italians who, on several occasions, threatened or actually made forays from their zone of occupation into that for which the Americans were responsible. In this instance the United States used military government to thwart the imperialistic ambitions of a nation associated with it in a war just ended. This objective was best accomplished by reducing military government to an absolute minimum.

The variety of missions helps to explain the variety in the form of American military governments. But there have been other factors. The form of military government in American experience has been dependent primarily upon three variables: the strategic and tactical situation, the mission or purpose of the particular military government undertaking, and the culture of the people over whom government is exercised. Throughout American history there has been no fixed pattern for American military government. Each undertaking has been a unique enterprise.

Since the time of Winfield Scott and Francis Lieber, however, a constant has helped to shape the form and control the character of American military government. This constant has been the American understanding of the laws of war and of international law as set forth in a series of manuals of which General Orders No. 100 was the first. These manuals have not always prevented abuses but they have provided the foundation for the correction of such abuses as have occurred. They have defined the limits of military power and have set the tone for civil affairs administration. The manuals have undergone evolution in a changing world. One of the characteristics of American thinking in the realm of military government and civil affairs has ever been a critical attitude toward the developed and recognized international law of any particular period. But the United States, even in the middle years of the twentieth century, when the prestige of international law declined vastly as a result of the momentary triumphs of *Realpolitik*, did not abandon its tradi-

tional stand concerning the law of nations. The events of 1942 and 1943, shaped in part by the initiative of the American Republic, suggest that the time may be at hand when international law will achieve something of the importance hoped for by Congressman Seddon in 1846. At least the belief of the men of 1846 in a "code of law to govern all international relations, founded in part on the practices of nations but more correctly binding as deduced from the . . . principles of justice and the higher ethics of morality and humanity," may well be the goal for their sons of today.

Wolsey's Rule of the King's Whole Council

WILLIAM HUSE DUNHAM, JR.*

AFTER 1515 Wolsey, as chancellor, ruled the whole council which sat in the star chamber at Westminster Palace. "There he did his most permanent work in building up the unity of the state,"¹ and he did this by making Henry VIII personify the high prerogative he himself exercised. The royal prerogative grew during Wolsey's regency, he brought it to blossom, and after his fall the king picked the fruit. The English kingship had developed might during the preceding fifty years, and it was exuding an aura of divinity. The king, in 1515, was ready to assume the powers with which medieval legal theory had endowed him, and his office had not yet begun to metamorphose into the modern constitutional fiction. Fourteen years were still to elapse, however, before Henry VIII was to assert his strong personal rule, and during this interval the cardinal wielded the king's "most terrible power" and became his "chiefest and only councillor."

The policy that Wolsey pursued governed the work the whole council did, and he had as his goal three objectives: he sought, first of all, security for the king and his official family, then the protection of the subjects from wrongdoers, and finally an extension of the king's control over privileged institutions—the church, the city of London, and the feudality. Almost every action the whole council took led to one or another of these ends, and minutes of its meetings make clear how ultraroyalist was the quality of Wolsey's program. Personal motives, however, as well as reasons of state, might determine that a particular matter should be brought before the council, and a councilor, a royal official, or a man with a friend literally at court usually started those actions which came to be entered in the Book of the Acts of the Council.

In this book the clerk of the council, on October 11, 1509, described the institution whose proceedings he recorded as "all the whole council." The whole council had its own book, clerk, and names, its own places and times of meeting; and these characteristics marked it off from its parts—the council attendant upon the king's person, the court of requests, and other councils.²

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¹ Albert F. Pollard, *Wolsey* (London and New York, 1929), p. 80.

² The present article is based primarily upon extracts from the *Acta Consilii*, 1509–27, in the Huntington Library MSS. Ellesmere 2655, fols. 7–18v, and 2654, fols. 22v–25. These and other manuscripts relating to the king's council and the later court of star chamber are analyzed in "The Ellesmere Extracts from the *Acta Consilii* of King Henry VIII," *English Historical*

It met only during the four law terms, and it sat in either the outer or the inner room of the star chamber in Westminster Palace. Its secretary, the senior clerk of the council, would style it "the king's council," "his most honorable council," "all the whole council," or simply "the council" when he wrote up the minutes of its meetings in his book. There he also entered the names of the "presence," from two to fifty-five in number, and between 1509 and 1527 the councilors recorded at one or more of forty-nine meetings totaled 116. The membership included both churchmen and laymen—twenty-nine prelates, twenty-one peers, thirty-six knights, twenty-nine men of law, and one esquire. Some of these also heard poor men's causes in the court of requests or served as councilors attendant upon the king's person. At its meetings, the *Acta Consilii* show, the whole council swore in new councilors, determined judgments, decrees, and punishments, and issued procedural orders, proclamations, injunctions, and orders-in-council.

The function of the king's council, Fortescue had written forty years before Wolsey was chancellor, was to "commune and deliberate upon matters of difficulty that fall to the king, and *then* upon matters of the policy [administration] of the realm." A division of the council's work into the king's business and the realm's is one more accurate, historically, than any that might be made according to the categories legislative, executive, or judicial. To impose this modern classification upon the activities of Henry VIII's whole council would obscure the true genius of the institution—its ability to do so many different things. Things concerning the king's subjects, individually

Review, LVIII (1943), 301-18. An elucidation of the character of the whole council and of the relationship between the parts and the whole may be found in "Henry VIII's Whole Council and Its Parts," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, VII (1943), 7-46.

My purpose in using the expression "the whole council" is twofold. First, it is to emphasize the all-inclusive character of the king's council, 1509-27; anyone "sworn of the council" seems to have been eligible to attend its meetings in the star chamber, and over 116 councilors actually did so during these years. Secondly, the use of the term "the whole council" serves to contrast the nature of the king's council with that of the council attendant upon the king's person, of the court of requests, and of other councils whose members also belonged to and attended meetings of the whole council sitting in the star chamber. To identify the king's council, before 1527, with the court of star chamber would not be, I believe, institutionally accurate. Suits between private parties which were settled in the name of "the king's council in the star chamber" were not heard, as a rule, before a session, even an informal one, of the king's council; they were, for the most part, examined, heard, and determined before groups of councilors (or commissioners) especially assigned for the purpose. The king's council sitting in the star chamber (1509-27) also dealt with matters which later became the concern of the privy council. Hence, to make the phrases "the king's council" and "the whole council" synonymous with "the court of star chamber," in the hitherto accepted meaning of the term, would be misleading and would lack historical precision. Nor does it seem justifiable to use the expression "the king's council in the star chamber" as a formal title, for not once does that phrase appear in the Ellesmere extracts from the *Acta Consilii*, 1485-1527 (although it was used elsewhere). On the other hand, the clerk of the council used the phrase "the whole council" as synonymous with "the king's council," not frequently, it is true, in the *Acta*. His practice gives the expression the sanction of contemporary usage. Its present use has, then, a greater justification than has the long-accepted description of a part of the thirteenth century *curia regis* as "the small *curia regis*."

and collectively, were affairs of the realm. Matters pertaining to the members of the king's official family—his lords, knights, and courtiers, as well as the officers of state—came before the whole council. And just as every great lord in England had a council to help him manage his business, so, too, did the greatest lord of them all, the early Tudor king, still use his council to treat of things personal to him. Hence, the affairs of Henry Tudor, as man and feudal lord, went to his council just as did those of the English king and the realm.

In his campaign for good governance, Wolsey used the whole council as an integrating board through which to keep active and efficient other branches of the government. Councilors appointed the justices of the peace and the sheriffs who were sworn in at the star chamber, where their "articles of instructions" were read. Once, the justices from Norfolk and Suffolk who had "not done their duties" were enjoined "not to depart" until they had made their "purgation." The cardinal also "commanded" the justices of assize to report to the council misdemeanors in their circuits, and he ordered the chief justice to investigate the proceedings before an inquest in Kent. Another time the judges were made a committee to confer about certain statutes and to report their conclusions to the lords of the council.

The whole council, like James I's court of star chamber, served as an audience for Wolsey's "notable and elegant" orations, which were delivered in English so that no one might miss the meaning. Sometimes king and cardinal held dramatic dialogues before a background of councilors. At one formal meeting, with thirty-five councilors present, Henry's reply, probably drafted by Wolsey, declared "that his most desire and comfort was in the prosperous and continual advancement of this his realm, the restful tranquillity of his subjects, and the indifferent ministration of justice to all persons as well high as low." None of these sentiments was original; fifteenth century kings and chancellors had expressed them all time and again. But in 1516 there was a difference: the new cardinal was not only in dead earnest about enforcing the king's laws and effecting his policies, but he was already showing an ability so to do. Wolsey's threefold policy was the platform on which he stood as he ruled the council and through it the realm. The Ellesmere extracts from the *Acta Consilii* contain evidence that the king's subjects were being protected, that a royal control was being extended over English society, and that the king and his official family were being safeguarded.

Threats to the king and his government were of two kinds. Some acts tended to incite men to insubordination or to violence; in other acts force itself was directly applied against royal officials. When the king's commis-

sioners went out to levy the Amicable Loan in 1525, John Devereux, "a gentleman of Huntingdonshire," and several companions tried to prevent them from sitting. Subsequently the rioters were brought before the council at Westminster, and Devereux was sent to the Tower while his fellows went to the Fleet. Three weeks later Devereux, barefooted and in his shirt, returned to the star chamber, where Wolsey first lectured, then pardoned him. The king's commissioners were, no doubt, the men who had reported this disturbance to the council before which the rioters later appeared. The councilors were on the alert for such disorders, but even "a common secret rumor" which had reached Wolsey was not warning enough to prevent the Evil May Day of 1517. This London riot was of such magnitude that government itself seemed threatened. Although "the mayor and sheriffs were there present and made proclamation in the king's name . . . nothing was obeyed." Several councilors rushed over to the city, and arrests were made; severe penalties were imposed, and thirteen men were hanged. After a fortnight Henry VIII, at a meeting of thirty-eight councilors, decided to keep the movable gallows set up in the streets but to pardon the eleven women and four hundred men who were to come before him and pray for mercy. The mayor and aldermen of London, he agreed, were also to be punished for having failed to avert this breach of the king's peace.

Events such as these tended to inspire in the councilors a fear of rebellion, and the legends about the Wars of the Roses—the hackneyed theme of Tudor propagandists—may have prompted them to apply brisk penalties to men guilty of less violent offenses. Such a state of mind may account for the keen interest the councilors took in slanderous remarks and seditious bills, for these might lead to more harmful events. In 1518 the whole council sent John Brett of Lincoln's Inn to the Fleet for having written and spoken words scandalous to the king, to Wolsey, and to the lords of the council. During the next year it punished Robert Dunkel much more severely for the seditious words he had uttered. He was sentenced to stand with one ear nailed to the pillory "till night, then to pull away his ear if he list, and then to be banished this country." Dunkel's sedition may have been detected by the commissioners—the mayor and aldermen in the city, the councilors themselves in the suburbs—who went out in July, 1519, in search of suspicious characters and who were to report their findings to the council. At another time it tried to track down the authors of two bills slanderous the king, and councilors were joined with the aldermen of London and ordered to seize the merchants' books and to search them for "any such like hand as is contained in the said bills." Wolsey, from the outset of his regency, was sensitive to any disrespect toward

his monarch, himself, or the council, and other cases from the *Acta* illustrate his policy of protecting the prestige of the government, the councilors, the king, and himself.

Offenses committed in the royal palace were "affronts and contempts" to the king, and a man who had picked a priest's purse in the duchy chamber was hailed before the council. It sent to the Tower, in 1511, Sir Adrian Fortescue, who had made a rescue from the sheriff of Middlesex right in Westminster Hall when all the judges were sitting. The judges, doubtless, were responsible for having sent Fortescue to the council. He was an honorable knight; in fact, on the day before he was punished he was named a commissioner of the peace for Oxfordshire. But a part of Wolsey's policy was to inculcate into the aristocracy a respect for the officers of the law. Patrick Bellow's refusal to obey "the decree made yesterday" in the council, Hudson was later to construe as *crimen laesae majestatis*.³ The lawlessness of several members of the Inns of Court and of Chancery brought them before the council in 1526. At least two of their number, Serger and Servington, had rescued some vagabonds whom the constables of Westminster were leading to the Gate House. A protégé of Wolsey's, Laurence Stubbs, whom he had recently restored as president of Magdalen College, Oxford, informed the cardinal of the affair, and this was probably what led the whole council to arrest and punish the men. It enjoined them from going out of their inns after nine at night and from wearing swords and bucklers. To instill in the king's subjects a respect for the kingly office, Wolsey, with meticulous efficiency, ferreted out men loose in their speech or too free in their actions and brought them before the whole council.

The council, as an executive board, issued proclamations to safeguard the people. It set the prices of cloth, fish, and fowl to prevent the exploitation of the citizens of London, and in 1522—a war year—it enjoined the bakers to use the wheat in the Bridge House before they baked any other. The order is evidence of the whole council's executive capacity and of the political policy—to protect the Londoners—that guided its actions. When its orders were disregarded, the council summoned offenders before itself as a court of law. In 1520, six men in Buckinghamshire were alleged to be regraters and forestallers of grains, and the council "decreed" that an inquest into the truth of the charges should be made. The king's commissioners for the supply of corn had presumably reported the case, and in this instance the council sought to enforce its program as a policy-forming body through judicial process.⁴

³ William Hudson, *A Treatise of the Court of Star Chamber*, in Thomas Hearne, *Collectanea Juridica* (1791 ed.), II, 90, 172; *Letters and Papers*, III, 95 (28).

⁴ This was a "year of scarcity." No commissions for supply of corn have been found for

When the council ruled that commorths in Wales were "to be foredone" and that persons who had taken them were to be bound in recognizances to do so no more, what amounted to an executive order was attached to a judicial decision. The underlying principle that guided the council in cases such as these was the well-being of the king's subjects, and the councilors were quite unconcerned whether their action was executive, legislative, or judicial. The important thing was to get results and to win the subject's support by protecting him, as Fortescue had recommended, from wrongdoers within the realm.

The abuses of even a king, though, in the case of Henry VII, a dead one, were remedied through the whole council. Back in 1509 Henry VIII's council, after days of debate, abolished the "bye-courts" which Henry VII had devised to enrich himself and to deflate wealthy subjects. The common-law judges complained that these administrative tribunals had drawn business from the common-law courts, and they argued that they were not courts of record which would ultimately extinguish the king's right and title. All of the "bye-courts," the council agreed, should be annulled; the common law, its courts, and its judges were saved; and Henry VIII gained political popularity with his subjects. The executions of Empson and Dudley personified the council's extinction of these autocratic institutions, like the office of the king's prerogative, with which Dudley's name was associated.

To redress other perversions of the machinery of the law the council punished men like Thomas Wyche and Anthony Mallory, who had brought false accusations. Mallory had been a commissioner of the peace in Huntingdonshire two months before he was sent to the Fleet for having "wrongfully called up" several men and their wives. Wyche had charged two men with treason, he had failed to prove his case, and so the council punished him. It pilloried Ellis Midmore and Robert Sage for having slandered Lord Dacre of the south during the hearing of charges against them, and it fined two knights who had obstructed justice at Ryegate by unlawful maintenance.⁵ The offense in each of these cases had occurred during judicial proceedings conducted by councilors or royal judges, and probably they were the ones who had prompted the prosecution before the whole council. Wolsey himself

this year, but one for 1527 indicates the procedure followed. Commissioners "to view the store of grain" were assigned to counties; they were "to inquire of all persons regrating corn" and to "certify their proceedings to the council." *Letters and Papers*, I, 3592; III, 1157; IV, 3587. Cf., *ibid.*, III, 2015; IV, 5857, 5998; Isaac S. Leadam, *Select Cases before the King's Council in the Star Chamber . . . 1477-1544* (London, 1903-11), II, 288-89, for the 1529 proclamation against regrating.

⁵ A number of the documents from the proceedings in the original suit against Midmore and Sage, but not from the action against them for the slander of Lord Dacre which was entered in the *Acta*, are abstracted and quoted in *Sussex Record Society*, XVI (1913), 43-45, 46-47, 59, 64-65, and 76-77.

probably began the action against John Vesacreley, who had extorted four marks from a man by promising to get him a "protection" through the cardinal's usher, Thomas Henneage. Vesacreley had received the money, but he had failed to procure the protection, and, what was more important, he had failed to pay Henneage his fee, which may be why Wolsey, then the council, heard of the extortion.

Personal motives often explain why the council heard the cases it did. Wolsey's agents called his attention to wrongdoers who were summoned before the council; courtiers and commissioners, judges and justices of the peace reported others. Councilors, too, who were hearing suits between private parties sent men who committed offenses before them to the whole council.⁶ There the crown—the king's attorney is named in the minutes—brought the formal accusations. Wolsey himself sometimes laid the charges before the council, and the extracts from the *Acta Consilii* make clear the magnitude of the cardinal's personal rule.⁷ His knowledge of detail was all-inclusive, and his great brain was the clearinghouse through which much conciliar business first passed. Besides punishing men, the council supervised the operation of the courts of law, and it issued proclamations. Although its activities, when many members were present, were more formal than functional, the whole council still helped to advise the king on "matters of the policy of the realm." At times policy, more so than justice, determined which cases the council should hear, and politics, rather than equity, might decide the outcome. This is not always apparent on the surface of the record in the *Acta*, for juridical means were used to attain a political end. Like the later court of star chamber, the king's whole council, under Wolsey's direction, was frequently "a court of politicians enforcing a policy, not a court of judges administering the law."

The cardinal used his court of politicians to discipline members of privileged institutions—the feudality, the city of London, and the church. The right to do so was inherent in the king's prerogative from which the privileges of the whole council had, in fact, derived. But the domineering prelate applied the royal power self-consciously and with ostentation. His method was to invoke the council's authority to sanction predetermined decisions. For example, two men who had violated the statute of premunire confessed their

⁶ The council assigned suits between private parties to a few of its members acting as commissioners or committees. See *Huntington Library Quar.*, VII, 7-46. Only once do the Ellesmere extracts record the "order" in a suit between private parties. George Josselyn was "adjudged to do penance in Westminster Hall" for having made a seditious bill against the priest and inhabitants of Rattriffe in Devon. His case was brought before the whole council, and he was assigned a double penalty—to "do like penance at Totnes."

⁷ The clerk of the council consistently referred to Wolsey, euphuistically, as "the most reverend father," "my lord cardinal," etc., as distinct from "the other lords."

guilt before the whole council and begged the councilors to be a means to the king's pardon. Just who had instigated the prosecution of Dr. John Allen, then a chaplain to Wolsey, and Sir Christopher Plummer, the queen's chaplain, is not known, but the date of their case, 1518, suggests that their offenses grew out of the controversies which followed Richard Hunne's death in 1515. The anticlerical Simon Fish, in his pamphlet of 1528, stated that Allen had tried to take a plea that belonged to the king "unto another court." Fish's remarks about Allen's case are fairly accurate, and an obvious conjecture would be that a lord temporal, a lay councilor, or perhaps Henry himself had begun the action against Allen and Plummer. But Sir Thomas More, in his answer to Fish, wrote that "it is well known that Dr. Allen was, in the premunire, pursued only by spiritual men and had much less favor and much more rigor showed him therein by the greatest of the clergy than by any temporal men."⁸ The "greatest" of the clergy in 1518 was certainly Wolsey, so if More's "greatest" be taken singly, the cardinal himself may have started the action against his own chaplain. The year before, Wolsey had taken a strong antipapal stand, and he was pursuing a policy which exalted the king's prerogative against even a pope.⁹ Pressure against the church by the secular elements in English politics was especially great, and the situation provided an opportunity to augment the royal prerogative at the expense of the clergy.

Another clergyman, Henry Standish, the bishop of St. Asaph, was punished in the same month, October, 1518. He stood "at the bar" before the whole council and confessed his offense. He had accepted his papal bulls and his consecration without first procuring the king's assent; to have done so was "in derogation of the king and his prerogative royal." St. Asaph's case reflects Wolsey's policy of protecting the king's rights, and the strong declarations in the *Acta* about the king and his prerogative suggest that Henry himself might have inspired the action against Standish. The bishop's offense was

⁸ I have failed to find the specific charges brought against Allen and Plummer. The "Proceedings in the Court of Star Chamber" (*Lists and Indexes*, XIII, 8, nos. 94-96) contains a document, "Assignment of Defendants' Fines to Expense of Additions to the Palace of Westminster," which presumably describes only the settlement reached in the case. This is explained fully in the Ellesmere transcript. Present war conditions prevent access, even for photographing, to the star chamber records. None of the many references in printed sources to Allen discloses the nature of his offense. His biography is in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Christopher Plummer is mentioned in *Letters and Papers*, II, 3741, 4072. Simon Fish, *A Supplicacyon for the Beggers*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall (extra series, no. xiii, London, 1871), p. 12. The full quotation is: "Did not Dr. Allen . . . all that ever he could to pull from you [the king] the knowledge of such pleas as belong unto your high courts, unto another court?" Thomas More, *Supplicacyon of Soulys* (London, 1529 ?), folio ix.

⁹ In January, 1517, Henry VIII sent a letter, presumably drafted by Wolsey, to Rome, championing the cardinal against the pope's bishop of Tournai. In it the author extravagantly extolled the English king's prerogative. James O. Halliwell-Phillips, ed., *Letters of the Kings of England* (London, 1848), I, 235-44. A reply from the pope is in *Registrum Caroli Bothe Episcopi Herefordensis*, ed. Arthur T. Bannister (Hereford, 1921), p. 54.

clearly a violation of the statute of 1393, which provided that anyone bringing bulls into England, or receiving them there, was to be "brought before the king and his council."¹⁰ The circumstances, however, attendant upon Standish's appointment to the bishopric, just six months before, point, ironically, to Cardinal Wolsey, and not to King Henry, as the designer of the suit against the new bishop. Wolsey's motive—to satisfy personal pique—tarnished the worthiness of his end—to preserve against papal presumptions the integrity of the royal jurisdiction.

The story about Standish goes back to the debate over ecclesiastical jurisdiction that sprang from Richard Hunne's case. In 1515 Standish, who was the warden of the Franciscan friars in England and "one of the king's spiritual counsel," defended the right of lay tribunals to punish criminous clerks.¹¹ In so doing the poor friar won for himself the enmity of all convocation, but he gained the king's protection and the support of the house of commons and the temporal lords. Early in 1518 several lords urged his appointment to the see of St. Asaph, and in April, Henry VIII made the nomination against Wolsey's wishes. The cardinal's henchman, Richard Pace, the king's secretary, was supposed to block Standish's appointment and was mortified at his failure—*sed principum voluntatibus arduum est refragari*, Pace lamented to Wolsey. Archbishop Warham, no friend of Wolsey's, had consecrated Standish in July, 1518, and in October the cardinal humiliated the bishop before the whole council. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that Wolsey, out of spite toward Standish and perhaps toward Warham and Henry, used both the law and the council to punish St. Asaph. Although Wolsey had championed the royal prerogative against the papal the preceding year, personal animosity, rather

¹⁰ *Statutes of the Realm*, 16 Richard II, c. 5, limits cases of premunire to the council. James F. Baldwin, *Select Cases before the King's Council, 1243-1482* (Cambridge, 1918), p. xxvi, writes that the second statute of premunire (38 Edward III, *Statutes*, II, c. 1) "is almost the only act during the Middle Ages that leaves its enforcement to the king and council, without the alternative of any other court."

The interrogatories put to Standish are printed in Hudson, p. 127. They do not appear in the Ellesmere extracts, and this suggests that Hudson drew from other records of the case than the council book. Nowhere in the Ellesmere transcripts is there any indication that interrogatories and other details were entered in the *Acta Consilii*.

The oath which the bishops regularly took at this time included a renunciation of any words in the bulls contrary to the king's prerogative. The oath of Bothe, bishop of Hereford, in 1516 or 1517, began, "I renounce and utterly forsake almaner wordis and sentencis conteyned in the [pope's bull] granted to me of the bisshopprick of Hereford which be or in any wyse may be prejudycall or hurtefull to your highnes, to your crowne or dignite royll," Bannister, pp. 18, 20.

¹¹ In 1515 Wolsey excused the clergy, saying (as *calendared*) "that none of them had intended to do anything in derogation of the royal prerogative, and that for his part he owed his advancement solely to the king, and would never assent to anything in derogation of his authority." *Letters and Papers*, II, 1313, p. 352. This remark parallels the entry in the *Acta* reporting St. Asaph's appearance before the council in 1518. The story about Standish has been pieced together from the following references: Dictionary of National Biography; John S. Brewer, *The Reign of Henry VIII from His Accession to the Death of Wolsey* (London, 1884), I, 250-54; Charles H. Cooper and Thompson Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge, 1858-1913), I, p. 55; *Letters and Papers*, II, 1312, 1313, 1314, 4074, 4083, 4089; Pollard, p. 46.

than high principle, was probably the real reason why he bothered to bring the bishop before the whole council.

Privileged corporations also felt the heavy hand of conciliar control. In an effort to extend royal influence into city affairs, Wolsey compelled the Grocers Company of London to surrender its liberties. The Grocers, it was alleged, had disregarded "the king's letters for the office of weigher" of London and had appointed John Hawle, contrary to the king's pleasure, "without his royal assent, [and] without just title." The king's attorney went further and contended that the Grocers had "misused their liberties and so forfeited the same," and they humbly returned both the keys to the weighhouse and the king's letters patent containing their privileges. Thus the office was vacated and the appointment assured to Sir William Sidney, an esquire of the king's body and a cousin of the duke of Suffolk. In fact, Sidney's patent was already made out and dated June 13, 1521—eight days before the wardens of the company appeared in the star chamber. It seems obvious that Sidney, through Suffolk or some other councilor, provoked the action to ensure his appointment. After the Grocers had become enmeshed in the law, Wolsey used the occasion to strip them of all their liberties because they had held "many assemblies without authority." The Grocers' case shows clearly the procedure the cardinal employed. Once a suit was started for some personal motive—here, Sidney's appointment—Wolsey converted it into a crown matter, elaborated the charges, and applied his policy of intruding the king's hand into city affairs. He did the same thing in the case of the Inns of Chancery. When the council punished several of their members for making a rescue in Westminster, Wolsey took advantage of the opportunity and summoned the principals of the inns to "be in the star chamber" to hear his order "concerning the good rule of their houses."

The cardinal forced upon the city, through its mayor and aldermen, a close co-operation with the king's council. Councilors joined with the aldermen in an effort to detect the authors of two seditious bills in 1516; the council added its authority to that of the local officials in issuing proclamations setting prices; and councilors helped to suppress the May Day riot in 1517. But even the city fathers' previous collaboration failed to save them from humiliation and punishment for not having prevented that affray.

The very next year Wolsey was coping with a danger potentially greater than any London riot. The ambitions of spirited knights and peers created a threat to the Tudor dynasty that the cardinal worked to allay. He tried to curtail the aristocrats' use of feudal retainers by punishing men for unlawful maintenance and unlawful assembly. In October, 1518, he ordered the

justices of assize to report to the council "who be retainers or oppressors or maintainers of wrongful causes," and information had already been put into the king's bench against three peers and two knights "for the retaining of servants." A few years later, when Midmore and Sage slandered Lord Dacre, their accusations against the peer implied that he, too, was involved in retaining, which was probably true, but Dacre denied that he had promised "to be good lord unto" Sage. The peer's word stood, Wolsey's trap failed, and so the two little men were "adjudged to the pillory." In 1519 the cardinal's efforts met with greater success. Sir Mathew Browne, steward to the earl of Arundel, and Sir John Leigh were convicted of unlawful maintenance and unlawful assembly at Ryegate; they were sent to the Fleet, fined £100, and then brought before the whole council and pardoned. Their offenses, as described in the *Acta Consilii*, seem to have been routine infractions of the king's peace and of the statutes against maintenance. The real reason, however, for a man's being brought before the council is not always apparent on the surface of the record, for judicial forms and legal verbiage sometimes disguise the personal motive that lay behind his prosecution. The chronicler Hall joined Browne's name with those of Lord Howard, also indicted of maintenance, Lord Ogle, charged with murder, and Sir William Bulmer.

Bulmer's case exhibits the remnant of feudality that still clung to the king's council, and it brings out the inherently medieval quality of much of the work the council was doing. Sir William was the king's feudal retainer, but he had broken his oath to be only Henry's servant; he had gone over to Buckingham and had worn the duke's livery in the king's presence. In 1519, when this happened, Wolsey was working to weaken the feudality, especially the elements that clustered about Buckingham, and Bulmer was made to serve as an object lesson to any knights and peers whose allegiance to Henry was beginning to chafe. Bulmer was brought before a plenary session of the king's whole council, he confessed "his misdemeanor and offense," and the most reverend father and the other lords, down on their knees, interceded with the king for his pardon. This the king granted, but only after he had given "to the same Sir William a lesson to be remembered." The council minutes describing the case suggest that there was real fire behind the smoke that enveloped the judicial murder, in 1521, of Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham.

Both birth and indiscretion, and perhaps the treachery of men close to him, finally betrayed the duke. Buckingham's relations with Henry had always been delicate; he was the chief problem child of the king's feudal family. Though he had served as the constable of England at the king's coronation,

it had been for a single day. In June, 1510, the next year, Buckingham petitioned the king before the whole council for the constablenesship. The duke's council argued that the services which the constable owed were attached to manors that Buckingham had inherited. But the judges decided, four years later, that the king need not require the services and so he need not give out the office. Henry VIII followed this ruling, and dynastic considerations deprived the duke of his birthright. The king's real motive in withholding the constablenesship is apparent in Keilwey's report of the case. Fineux and Read, the two chief justices, went to the king's palace at Greenwich in 1514, and there they made their report before Henry, Wolsey, Foxe, and "others of the king's privy council" (*autres del priuie counsell le roy*). Henry VIII then asked, "What kind of things can the constable of England do by reason of his office?" To the king's question Fineux replied that the matter pertained to his "law of arms," but Henry may have been aware of "a common saying that the constable of England by virtue of his office in any case can arrest the king himself." To permit Edward Stafford to combine in his person the dukedom of Buckingham, the command of a band of retainers, the constablenesship of England, and his descent from Thomas of Woodstock was too much to ask of a parvenu dynasty. Whether Buckingham really aspired to the throne, whether he actually was the leader of the feudality, or whether an imagined fear led Henry VIII and his ministers to cast the duke in that role is hard to tell. But the fact remains that in 1521 the duke died to demonstrate to the English aristocracy the growing power of the Tudor king. Mistrust caused Henry and his councilors, back in 1514, to withhold from Buckingham the constablenesship, and because of mistrust "all the judges of England" had shaped the law to salve the conscience of their king.¹²

The constitutional right of the council to do the things it did rested upon custom and prerogative. Theoretically the king's prerogative might have been enough to sanction the council's acts. Prerogative was still mysterious and mystical, yet Henry VIII and his councilors were being made very conscious of it. Wolsey saw to that. On May 2, 1516, Henry was made to declare before the whole council that if his judges and ministers were unable to execute his laws then his councilors were to "repair to his most noble and mighty power" and he would then "address his most terrible power" to subdue the enemies of justice. Here is the Tudor sovereign's own declaration of the existence of that reservoir of regal power which resided in the kingly office. "From the

¹² For Buckingham's suit to be constable of England, see Robert Keilwey, *Relationes quorundem casuum selectorum ex libris R. Keilwey* (1602), pp. 170b-172a; *Letters and Papers*, I, 211; MS. Ellesmere 6117, folio 14; Hudson, II, 44, 104. All quotations in this paragraph are from Keilwey, *Relationes*, pp. 170b-172a. Cf. Pollard, p. 71.

beginning," Professor Baldwin has written, "the council was broadly a court of equity, in that its action was a dispensation of the royal prerogative." In effect, the council was the king's deputy for executing his will and his judgments. The Elizabethan Lambarde recognized this and stated it positively:

I do affirm that the king hath a supreme court of prerogative whereunto his subjects in such their necessities may provoke, as to his own royal person. . . . He may in royal presence use his judicial authority, or otherwise for the time abstain to be present there, and leave the proceedings to those selected men . . . and these men thus taken for their counsel [counsell] and advice we do commonly call the king's council [counsell].¹³

Lambarde's statement accurately describes conciliar practice between 1509 and 1527. Henry VIII attended in person to pardon offenders—an application of the prerogative—or to participate in Wolsey's formal ceremonial. But more often he abstained and let Wolsey direct the council's decisions. The king was held in reserve, and he retained for the use of the council an undefined plenitude of power with which to supplement law and custom.

The council, however, did not enjoy an irresponsible mandate to practice regal despotism, for the council, like the king, was limited by the custom of the English constitution. Henry VIII recognized this limitation in 1519, when he rejected Lord Ogle's plea to the king-in-council for mercy. "Sir," said Henry, "your matter concerneth murder of our subject, which great offense is not only to us but to God, and therefore we remit you to the common law." A century later Hudson was to write that there was "no offense punishable by any law" that the council might not hear "except only where life is questioned." Regardless of what the council might or might not do in theory, under Wolsey's regime it accepted in fact the limitations that expediency and custom imposed upon its action. The council did not determine cases involving capital crimes, and it remitted common-law cases to the common-law courts. Deference to the laws and customs of England was a matter of practicality, as well as of precedent, for the council could not do everything, and the constant attendance of the two chief justices probably helped to avoid jurisdictional conflicts. Custom and practice, rather than theory or statutes, actually set limits to conciliar jurisdiction and prevented an extravagant use of the royal prerogative.

The councilors, however, were not oblivious of the usefulness of the prerogative. Wolsey, especially, extolled it and put it to practical application. Sometimes the defendant had violated the prerogative, as when the bishop of St. Asaph was accused of having acted "in derogation of the king and his prerogative royal." More often the prerogative permitted the king to grant

¹³ William Lambarde, *Archeion* (London, 1635), pp. 101-102.

mercy to the defendant. In several cases in the Ellesmere transcript the defendants confessed their guilt, asked the cardinal and the council to be means to the king's grace, and were pardoned. This procedure explains why Hudson could call the council "a court rather of mercy than of justice." To obtain the king's forgiveness—and a lighter penalty—was one reason for a man's admitting his guilt to the council, and the king's prerogative in actuality often meant a pardon. Confession enabled some men to escape the more drastic penalties which the law might normally impose; it also provided an easy way for the council to punish offenses which did not fit into prescribed categories of the law. And confession, inspired by the hope of mercy, assured the crown of success in prosecuting cases of dubious legality but of political necessity.

In practice, however, custom usually determined which cases the whole council should hear. There are precedents going back to Edward I's reign for many of the cases in the Ellesmere extracts.¹⁴ A complaint was brought against the bishop of Exeter in 1290 for "many injuries and extortions," and the plaintiff prayed that justices of oyer and terminer might hear the charges or that he might have a writ to bring the bishop before the king and his council. This happened 228 years before the council punished John Vesacreley for his extortious taking of four marks. In 1305 Edward I's council punished a man for contempt of court, just 213 years before Patrick Bellow was sent to the Tower for contempt of the council's decree. A case before the council in 1315 involved royal and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, and 203 years later Plummer and Allen were fined for their offenses against premunire. Back in Edward II's reign "the king's dignity" had given the royal palace a special sanctity, and this was paralleled when Henry VIII's council imprisoned the maker of a rescue and the picker of a priest's purse within the precincts of Westminster Palace. The council had punished men for false accusations and unlawful maintenance in the fourteenth century, and by the sixteenth this was established custom. Before 1453 the slanderers of peers, and rioters, too, had been sent to the council, and there was good precedent to follow in like cases some seventy years later. Countless petitions, like the duke of Buckingham's, and the breach of one's oath to the king, like Bulmer's, traditionally went to the council.

Custom and precedent cover other cases entered in the *Acta*, and custom lay behind the administrative acts of the council. It had long set the prices of food and cloth and issued proclamations in the king's name. Long before Wolsey's regency the councilors had ordered other courts and departments to mend their ways and to do their work well, and the traditional character of

¹⁴ James F. Baldwin, *The King's Council in England during the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1913), p. 266, n. 3; *id.*, *Select Cases before the King's Council*, pp. ix-x, 28, 130-31.

so many of the things done in Henry VIII's reign suggests that precedent, rather than the statutes or even the prerogative, determined the kind of work the whole council should do. The council's adjudication of the same types of cases over two hundred years makes evident a continuancy of the institution, of its jurisdiction, and of its practices. This, after all, is what custom really means.

Custom, however, need not connote a static quality, and at times the council extended its jurisdiction through practice. Some cases in the Ellesmere extracts for which no precedents have been found may have been heard "because of the incompleteness of the law," but in nature they differed very little from offenses the council was already punishing. For centuries the council had helped to preserve the king's feudal prerogatives, and in 1517 it fined Sir Randall Brereton, who confessed to having "taken away the king's widow without the king's license." It was also alleged that he had raped her, at least *de iure* if not *de facto*; this he denied, but he would not "try with the king" over the matter, and he begged for the king's mercy. Just as the king's rights increased in number and complexity, so, too, was the council's jurisdiction "extended by the practice of the court itself."¹⁵ The king's interest and his undefined prerogative allowed the council ample authority with which to punish new wrongs. Whether chancellors and councilors consciously applied the *in consimili casu* principle to increase the scope of their jurisdiction is not evident, but they probably fretted very little over the council's authority, which, Francis Bacon was to write, "subsisted by the ancient common-laws of the realm."¹⁶

Although the council was not dependent upon acts of parliament for its jurisdiction, it did not wholly ignore the statutes. They were sometimes used to show that the offense a defendant had committed was punishable, and five of the judicial entries in the Ellesmere transcript contain the words "statute" and "laws." But in these cases the council's authority was not grounded solely upon statute. In one case, men were charged with forestalling and regrating grains *contra formam statutorum etc.*, but just which statutes were meant is not very clear. There were several Tudor proclamations against forestalling

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xxvi. Professor Pollard has written "that extensions of jurisdiction, for which we only find recorded rules under Wriothesley, Nicholas Bacon, or even Ellesmere, owed their origin to the unrivalled impetus of Wolsey," and Sir Thomas Smith wrote that Wolsey had "augmented the authority of" the council in the star chamber. Pollard, pp. 66, 78.

¹⁶ Francis Bacon, *Historie of the Reigne of King Henry the Seventh* (London, 1622), pp. 63-64. The full quotation from Bacon makes clear the council's independence of the statutes for its jurisdiction: "First, the authority of the star chamber, which before subsisted by the ancient common laws of the realm, was confirmed in certain cases by act of parliament . . . there was nevertheless always reserved a high and pre-eminent power to the king's council." Even the word "confirmed" may connote more than the fifteenth century legislators intended.

grain, fish, and herring. Later, an act of 1552 defined and proscribed these offenses, and the preamble states that confusion existed about the earlier statutes, that they were not "sufficiently made," and that what constituted a forestaller was not "perfectly known." Hence the phrase "against the form of the statutes" was probably included to bolster up the accusation and not to sanction the council's right to hear the case.

In two of the other four cases in which laws and statutes are mentioned the defendants had violated the acts of premunire.¹⁷ One offense was against "the king's laws, and to the derogation of the king's prerogative"; the other was "contrary to the king's laws concerning the statute of premunire." Likewise, the "laws" which Sir William Bulmer had broken included the statutes against livery, but the action against him was founded not upon the statutes but on the breaking of his oath to the king. This ran against prerogative and custom, and the allusion to the "laws" seems supererogatory. Leonard Chamberlin had committed "divers offenses" against "the king's laws," but for only one of them can an appropriate statute be found. An act of 1381 provided that no one was to go out of the realm without the king's license, and Chamberlin had done so. But the statute did not provide that the council should hear such cases, and the laws and statutes were mentioned, but not cited by chapter and year, probably to implement custom and prerogative as the grounds on which the king's attorney brought the charges. The laws proved that the defendant's act was illegal and punishable, but in none of the cases in which the statutes are mentioned is there any indication that the council's jurisdiction depended upon, or was limited by, acts of parliament. A recourse to the statutes reflects both the medieval man's respect for quantity and his belief that redundancy would assure conviction. Just as Richard III believed that his right to the throne would appear stronger if he rested his title upon both his true inheritance and an election by the three estates of the realm, so, too, did Henry VIII's attorneys think that their cases before the whole council would be strengthened if they based their charges on custom, prerogative, and statute. In so doing, they emphasized the strict legality for which posterity was later to thank the Tudors. The law might be stretched and its spirit distorted, yet it was still law; and due process, peremptory as it might be, was still observed.

The true attitude of the Tudor councilor toward acts of parliament was

¹⁷ *Statutes of the Realm*, 38 Edward III, Stat. II, c. 1; 16 Richard II, c. 2. Statutes pertinent to other cases mentioned in this paragraph are: 8 Edward IV, c. 2; 19 Henry VII, c. 14, for livery and maintenance; 5 Richard II, Stat. I, c. 2, no one to go beyond seas without the king's license. Many other statutes concerning perjury, extortions, commorthis in Wales, the slander of peers, falsehoods, rescues, and riots—cases of which appear in the Ellesmere extracts—had been enacted before 1509. Hudson wrote (*A Treatise of the Court of Star Chamber*, p. 85), "jurisdiction seemeth to come to this court *de incremento* by these acts of parliament, although in truth the court in most of these cases had the same power before."

that of the practical politician—that they were statutes of convenience. Only one act mentioned in the Ellesmere transcript applied directly to the council, and it concerned organization and not jurisdiction. In 1516, when Wolsey's terrible power was yet in the making, he used an act of 1445 to sanction a revision of conciliar procedure. He got the council to agree that only those members who "be appointed in the statute therefore provided" should be present at the naming of the sheriffs; the rest of the lords were to "be content to be absent."¹⁸ Here, surely, the statute was one of convenience resurrected by Wolsey to serve an immediate purpose. He might hope to gain control over the shrievalty by restricting the power to appoint sheriffs to men over whom his influence was soon to be paramount. This act of parliament, apparently, was not being enforced in 1516, and it would have lain dormant until a Wolsey discovered its potential advantage. The cardinal's action was noted, after his fall in 1529, when his enemy, John Palsgrave, declared that he had "begun to make learned men sheriffs of the shire." Wolsey's attitude toward all the old statutes that remained on the books was probably the same—that they were convenient tools to use as occasion might require.

Many other acts passed by fifteenth century parliaments referred to the council, but they served to recognize, not to create, the council's authority. In none is there any indication that the council was acquiring jurisdiction from parliament, which was, after all, only another aspect of the same authority afforded by many more members. Statutes might regulate judicial procedure, but they had little to say about conciliar jurisdiction.¹⁹ Some of these acts designated the council as an alternative court to which a case might be brought. Others provided that the justices of the peace or the justices of assize should first try certain kinds of offenses; then, if justice could not be obtained, the case might be referred to the council. An act to punish rioters stipulated that the justices of the peace were to hear the charges, imprison any persons convicted, certify the case to the council, and then send up the guilty for the

¹⁸ *Statutes of the Realm*, 5 Edward II, c. 17; 9 Edward II, Stat. II; 14 Edward III, Stat. I, c. 7, prescribed the chancellor, the treasurer, the chief baron of the exchequer, and the chief justices and 23 Henry VI, c. 7, recited the last act, substituting "and other" for the chief justices. Wolsey described the actual practice in 1522 in a letter to Henry VIII. He, "with sundry lords of your council and the judges, proceeded to election of your sheriffs." Then he sent Henry a bill with three names for each shire, one of which Henry was instructed "to tot and mark"; he was to remit the bill to Wolsey "to be executed accordingly." *State Papers of Henry VIII*, I, 115, letter lxiv.

¹⁹ Pollard, pp. 62–63. *Statutes of the Realm*, 31 Henry VI, c. 2, describes the council's practice "before this time," hence its *right* of summoning before it cases of riot, extortion, oppression, and grievous offenses. The act is virtually an admission that the council came by its jurisdiction through usage, precedent, and custom and that the statutes simply admitted the fact. The act of 19 Henry VII, c. 14, provided that charges against men accused of retaining might be brought before the chancellor in the star chamber (the whole council) or before the king's bench, or before "the king and his council attending upon his person." This statute is clearly one regulating procedure and not conferring jurisdiction.

council to punish.²⁰ Parliament's purpose in passing acts which provided recourse to the council was not to limit its jurisdiction but to procure its prestige as an aid to law enforcement. Historically it would be even more accurate to say that the council had some of the acts passed in an attempt to obtain the co-operation of the members of parliament in the crown's struggle for "indifferent justice." The council's function, as implied in these statutes, was to confer grace upon litigants otherwise unable to get a fair hearing and to stimulate the activity of other courts, but not to encroach upon their work. Such acts of parliament may better be looked upon as petitions to the king for the council's assistance than as the legal basis of its jurisdiction. At most they can be used to determine only the minimum, not the maximum, of the council's juridical powers. Had there been any notion that the statutes defined, and hence limited, the council's action, surely Wolsey would have run head-on into the tough bulwark of the common law.²¹ Instead, he either ignored old acts of parliament or invoked them at his convenience.

Nevertheless, Wolsey's rigorous, and perhaps indiscreet, enforcement of the law was held against him in 1529. His critics declared that he had brought suits "in bagsfull to the star chamber," and there is no doubt that while Wolsey ruled the council the number of cases it heard rapidly rose. Of the proceedings in the star chamber between 1509 and 1547, 9,327 items, perhaps over five thousand separate suits, still survive. This figure far exceeds the 147 items that remain from Henry VII's reign, and it provides a rough measure of the increase that occurred in the council's judicial work. The indefatigable chancellor was unquestionably responsible for a more extensive use of the whole council, but it may be that he fostered a process that had already begun. In November, 1509, six years before Wolsey was chancellor, Henry VIII's council had annulled Henry VII's bye-courts and had revoked his commissions of oyer and terminer. The Book of the Acts of the Council recorded the complaints made against the practices of these courts, practices so offensive, the judges alleged, that "the demeanor of the people" showed that "the continu-

²⁰ *Statutes of the Realm*, 13 Henry IV, c. 7. Professor Baldwin considered that the act of 2 Henry V, Stat. I, c. 8, took away "whatever authority was given to the council by this act" of Henry IV's (*Select Cases before the King's Council*, p. xxxi). But Henry V's act was "to provide a better remedy," and its purpose was to revise the machinery for the enforcement of the law against rioters and not to deprive the council of its jurisdiction to hear cases of riot. The statute 19 Henry VII, c. 13, assumed that Henry IV's act was still "in force" and called for its better execution. In the interval between these two acts, 31 Henry VI, c. 2, concerning riots, extortions, and oppressions, sought to devise a procedure for enforcing appearance under writs and letters of privy seal. The act of 11 Henry VII, c. 7, provided that the justices were to certify "heinous" riots to the king and council for punishment, and leaders of riots who had been convicted before the justices of the peace were to be jailed until they could appear before the council which was to award fine and punishment. The purpose of each of these acts was to procure means of efficient enforcement and not to bestow upon the council jurisdiction.

²¹ The relation of the misnamed "Star Chamber Act" (3 Henry VII, c. 1) to the council is discussed in the *Huntington Library Quar.*, VII, 7-46.

ance of the said oyer and terminer should be to them both chargeable and painful." Furthermore, it was argued, the commissioners of oyer and terminer were hearing "many mean matters and causes . . . which ought to be determined at the common law and few criminal causes or other for which such commissions should be granted." Henry VII had used these institutions with more logic than sagacity, and his officials had stretched their powers beyond the limits of popular acquiescence, so Henry VIII's whole council dissolved their commissions. "Mean matters" were to go to the common-law courts; "other" causes, especially those concerning the king, actually went to the council. Back in 1290 the council was considered an alternative to a commission of oyer and terminer, and so, perhaps, it was the temporary disuse of these courts after 1509 that first provoked an onrush of suitors to the whole council.

By 1515, when Wolsey became chancellor, there may well have been a flow of judicial business to the council which he might joyfully swell. Palsgrave later wrote that the cardinal had "begun to execute" numerous statutes and "to punish liberal speaking." In so doing, Wolsey was using rights and powers which the council had possessed for centuries, but powers which it had only intermittently applied. What he did was to assert in principle, sometimes by a test case like Bulmer's, the majesty of the king's law. Before the whole council, amidst pageantry and splendor, the cardinal conjured up old laws and statutes in order to cloak his deeds with a formal legality. But the council's powers that he used were based primarily upon prerogative and custom, and so it is wrong to say that Wolsey's "new law of the star chamber" seriously violated English legal tradition save in one important respect—that of enforcement.²² The application of old laws and customs—even when parliament had put them on its rolls—was disliked; it bit into many privileged individuals and groups: the Grocers of London, the Inns of Chancery, the king's peers and knights, and the cardinal's own clergy. Wolsey's unceasing prosecution of wrongdoers before the council proved impolitic. It helped to increase his unpopularity, but it was not unlawful, for behind it lay the high sanction of statute, precedent, and prerogative.

²² *Letters and Papers*, II, App. 38. "I doubt not good example shall ensue to see them learn the new law of the star chamber." Wolsey's statement, or boast, to King Henry has been taken too literally, I believe, and it has been given more consideration than it merits. When the remark is read in its context, it means no more than that the two men, both of them councilors, were to suffer under Wolsey's effective enforcement of the law of the land. Their offense was "a fray" in which a man was slain, and riot did not require any "new law." Professor Pollard seems to have hit off Wolsey's intended meaning when he wrote of the "new law" that it was "new also in the vigour with which it was to be administered," but to deduce more than this is unwarranted. Cf. Pollard, p. 73.

Profile of a Late Ante-Bellum Community

JAMES C. BONNER*

MOST historians agree that too little of the history of the Old South has been written from the annals of the poor.¹ Yet that section had its full share of landless white people in varying degrees of poverty. Just above the very poor and the landless was another class which some historians have chosen to call "yeomen farmers." Partly because they were too numerous, too commonplace, and too much like common folk everywhere, these two classes have not inspired exhaustive studies commensurate to their numbers and to their importance in society. On the other hand, the small upper class, the *prima donna* group of ante-bellum Southern life, has received notice far out of proportion to its numbers and, it is sometimes suspected, its social and economic importance.

Significantly, the members of the upper class and of the group striving for upper-class status have furnished nearly all of the written local accounts of the South's inarticulate masses. Too often the writer was a haughty neighbor on whose land some poor white had squatted, and he showed little sympathy for the lot of such men. Too much reliance has also been placed in those contemporaries who wrote travel accounts. Bumping over poor roads, for which the South was notorious, and eating food to which he was unaccustomed, the traveler was inclined to inject his discomfort into a somewhat distorted description of the common people whom he encountered. Sometimes a condescending visitor, such as Frederick Law Olmsted, saw only what he came to see and, bent upon obtaining his money's worth, recorded his observations in terms of preconceived ideas, prejudice, and subjectivity. The limited scope of a traveler's observations always precludes a complete picture of a section's people. The queer customs and habits of the poor people of the Old South, the unusual appearance of their habitations, or perhaps their picturesque speech furnished the major topic for comment. Hence the propertyless white, discovered long ago, is in great need of rediscovery.

Perhaps the most reliable data available for a comprehensive study of the submerged half or two thirds of the population are to be found in the manu-

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¹ This paper is a by-product of a longer study on "Agricultural Reform in the Georgia Piedmont, 1820-1860."

script records of the Federal census, particularly those of 1850 and 1860.² Indeed, tens of thousands of names of ante-bellum Southerners appear there, each with numerous facts recorded, and they are to be found nowhere else. Courthouses and local archives, even when the research historian has the patience to classify their resources, yield practically no data relative to those without property. Names on Schedules I, II, and IV of the seventh and eighth censuses, when alphabetized and collated into a single master file, result in a Domesday Book as rare as anything in Anglo-Saxon annals. While it is admitted that lives of people cannot be listed in columns and averaged, a master file such as this, to which all other available data are appended, will contain extensive and hitherto unused facts that can be made to yield an objective interpretation of the lives of the poor and illiterate. By using this device the written accounts of travelers and contemporaries can be checked and evaluated with great effectiveness.³

As an object lesson on what can be learned about the poorer masses of the Old South, a few of the less evident social and economic aspects of a single community are analyzed below in some detail. Hancock County, Georgia, selected for the study,⁴ lies in the Lower Piedmont, between Milledgeville

² Beginning in 1850, three schedules were made up by the census enumerators which form the principal documents on which this study is based. These are Schedules I, II, and IV, that is, "Free Inhabitants," "Slave Inhabitants," and "Productions of Agriculture," respectively. Of these, the last is the most useful document. These records for the Southern states are widely scattered, some being in the National Archives, some in the various state archives, and some in university and historical society collections. A few apparently have become lost. Of the Georgia records, Duke University has the 1850 manuscripts of Schedule IV for the counties of Floyd through Murray. The D.A.R. library in Washington, D. C., has both the 1850 and the 1860 manuscripts of Schedule IV for the remaining Georgia counties. Schedules I and II, complete for all states, are in the National Archives. Unfortunately, the names of Negro slaves do not appear on any of these schedules. Such names would furnish a basis for a study of many aspects of the slavery regime. Only the age, sex, and color (black or mulatto) are recorded on the "Schedule of Slave Inhabitants."

³ For example, Charles Lanman visited Georgia's up-country in 1848 and spent the night in the cabin home of Adam Vandever, near Tallulah Falls. He described his host as about sixty years of age, crude, illiterate, and the reputed father of about thirty children. He tilled only a few acres around his cabin, and his livestock consisted of "a mule, some half dozen goats, together with a number of dogs." Charles Lanman, *Letters From the Alleghany Mountains* (New York, 1849), p. 31. The census records of 1850 tell a different story. According to these records, Vandever possessed horses, mules, cows, sheep, goats, and hogs. Productions of his farm consisted of wheat, oats, rye, corn, peas, tobacco, honey, milk, butter, garden and orchard products, and home-manufactured goods. In 1860 he owned land, tools, and livestock worth \$1,800. When Vandever died in 1877, he left a substantial estate, the records of which contradict the estimate of him given by his New England guest thirty years earlier. Minute Book "I," Records of Habersham County, Clarksville, Georgia.

⁴ In preparing this study a card index was made that contained all names of people in Hancock County that appeared on Schedules I, II, and IV of the seventh and eighth censuses. A master list, containing these names with all available facts appended, was then prepared, including data from the various schedules and from other sources, such as the public records of the county, private collections, and newspaper accounts. For a description of the census manuscript records and a discussion of a technique in using them, see Frank L. and Harriett C. Owsley, "The Economic Basis of Society in the Late Ante-Bellum South," *Journal of Southern History*, VI (1940), 24-26; also Blanche Henry Clark, *The Tennessee Yeomen, 1840-1860* (Nashville, 1942), xvii-xxii.

and Augusta, near the Pine Barrens. The conventional census tabulations qualify it as a somewhat representative community of the old plantation cotton belt. Most of its area is characterized by coarse sand and sandy loam, but there is some red clay in the northern part. Scrub oak and pine are not uncommon on the uplands, with gum, bay, and poplar in the swamps.⁵ Despite the comparative poverty of its soil, this area was known throughout Georgia and neighboring states in 1860 for the progressiveness and culture of its people and for their optimistic enthusiasm for the agrarian way of life. The Hancock Planter's Club, one of the first successful agricultural societies of middle Georgia, furnished inspiration and guidance to Southern planters for two decades before the Civil War. William Terrell, its first president, endowed a chair of agriculture at the University of Georgia; David W. Lewis, its first secretary, became the first executive secretary of the Southern Central Agricultural Society, a regional organization embracing Georgia and neighboring states.⁶ Cotton strains, culture methods, and tools developed in Hancock County became well known wherever cotton was grown extensively.⁷ Many significant agricultural, political, and intellectual movements in Georgia between 1830 and 1860 were identified with one or more of Hancock's prominent citizens. Even a superficial student of Southern history will recognize on the list of this county's citizens many Southerners who had notable careers—governors, congressmen, jurists, and leaders in professional life.⁸

Regardless of other attachments, nearly all of these leaders were engaged in farming or in planting. Observers in the 1850's invariably commented upon the agricultural progress which they were making. The fine breeds of livestock, improved tools, "neat, horizontal tillage," well-fed and happy slaves, and the genteel quality of its people were the county's well-known assets.⁹ As an embellishment to its rural life the county possessed "many country col-

⁵ Roland M. Harper, "Development of Agriculture in Upper Georgia from 1850 to 1860," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, VI (1922), 14, 15; Zachary Taylor Johnson, "Geographic Factors in Georgia Politics in 1850," *ibid.*, XVII (1933), 28.

⁶ For a discussion of the contributions made by Hancock planters to the agricultural renaissance of the Lower South before 1860, see James C. Bonner, "Genesis of Agricultural Reform in the Cotton Belt," *Jour. Southern Hist.*, IX (1943), 475-500.

⁷ "[It] is the best cotton by two hundred fifty pounds per acre that I have ever planted," wrote a southwest Tennessean in 1860 of a cotton strain developed by David Dickson. *Southern Cultivator*, XVIII (1860), 53.

⁸ For a discussion of the prominent citizens of Hancock County in the 1850's, when the community was at the zenith of its brilliant ante-bellum career, see George Gillman Smith, *The Story of Georgia and Georgia People* (Atlanta, 1900), p. 211; Lucian Lamar Knight, *Georgia's Landmarks, Memoirs, and Legends* (2 vols., Atlanta, 1914), II, 544-645; Elizabeth Smith, "A History of Hancock County," an unpublished manuscript in private possession.

⁹ *Soil of the South*, V (1855), 321; *South Countryman*, I (1859), 27; *Southern Cultivator*, XVIII, 262.

leges,¹⁰ white mansions, gardens and orchards, with all the unmistakable signs of taste, comfort, and plenty in evidence."¹¹ While climate, soil, and topography did not endow the community with unusual agricultural possibilities, there are perhaps few places in the cotton belt that have a greater claim to all the romantic traditions of the full life under the plantation slavery regime.

During the 1850's, when the new agricultural practices in the area were reaching a high degree of efficiency, there was a considerable movement of white people from the county. Many of these emigrants were landless farmers,¹² some were small landowners without slaves, and a few were small slaveholders. As the white population thus diminished, there was an increase in the number of slaves, a concentration of landownership, and a rise in land values.¹³ This represents merely the familiar American phenomenon of a concentration of landholding, accompanied by an increase in the number of landless workers. The more affluent planters were buying up the land of small farmers, acquiring more slaves, and closing up the avenues by which landless farmers might acquire small holdings. Many small farmers, thus thwarted in their efforts to become planters, or even landowners, were moving to the newer counties in the northern and western parts of the state, or to the southwest. In addition, there is much evidence to support the theory that farm tenants who did not emigrate were being forced into a less favorable relationship to the land.

The superficial picture of the community at this time is one of high agricultural prosperity for all classes, accompanied by the expansion of the plantation pattern.¹⁴ This view, however, does not adequately characterize

¹⁰ The reference here is to rural boarding schools offering instruction on the academy level.

¹¹ *Southern Cultivator*, XVIII, 262.

¹² The white population declined from 4,201 to 3,871, or 7.8 per cent. At the same time the slave population increased from 7,306 to 8,137, or 11.37 per cent.

¹³ The average value of land holdings increased 46.6 per cent, and the number of land owners declined 16 per cent. The planters whose realty was valued at \$10,000 and above in 1850 increased in number from 4 per cent of the total to over 15 per cent of the total in 1860. Planters comprising the upper 15 per cent in 1860 owned more than half of the total land in the county.

¹⁴ David W. Lewis wrote in 1859 that property was as "equally distributed" among the people of the community as it was possible for it to be. *Southern Cultivator*, XVII (1859), 261-62. David Dickson in the following year boasted that the people of Hancock did not "have to hire out to get a living." *Ibid.*, XVIII, 237. Apparently the white people who owned no land, like the Negro slaves, simply did not count in these evaluations of the county's social and economic welfare. The actual distribution of property in the county was such that a geographical representation produces a balanced, bell-shaped curve *among those who owned it*, but it was far from being equally distributed. The statements of Lewis, Dickson, and others, as illustrated above, are contradicted by the census returns as well as by statements of their contemporaries. For example, a visitor to Dickson's plantation in Hancock County in 1860 reported seeing from "fifty to one hundred white hirelings in almost constant employment." *Ibid.*, XVIII, 203. Dickson admitted employing as laborers "three or four white men at a time," and they were not engaged on a yearly basis. *Ibid.*, XVII, 345; XVIII, 203, 237. That unequal distribution of land

the whites in the lower economic group who comprised approximately one third of the total white population of the county. The idea that both the rich and the poor were becoming richer was given by agricultural commentators and observers of the upper economic class. Scant indeed are the records which originated from those who were forced off the land to become farm laborers, wage earners in the local textile mill, or emigrants to newer areas of better economic opportunity, real or fancied.¹⁵ The actual situation was something like that observed in the South from 1930 to 1940, when Federal subsidies brought a degree of prosperity to landowners in the cotton belt but forced tenants to become farm laborers or else encouraged them to seek urban employment. The change had many of the characteristics of the enclosure movement in England at the beginning of the century.

A brief biography of an ante-bellum tenant farmer, while given largely through observations and comments of his aristocratic landlord, may furnish a typical example of what was actually taking place. Young David R. Ware, a landless farmer, came to Georgia from North Carolina around 1840. Married to a Hancock girl, he squatted on land near Granite Hill, abandoned to Bermuda grass. Having meager equipment, he could cultivate only a small plot. Around 1848, Andrew J. Lane purchased the place at \$2.00 an acre and joined it to his plantation at Granite Hill. "At the time of the purchase," wrote Lane, "[Ware] raised about half enough corn to feed himself, his wife, and a pack of dogs." By judicious management, however, the tenant prospered. When he first came to the place he had an old mare, a milch cow, a brood sow, and several pigs. His plan was to plow the mare during the morning and to let her graze on the Bermuda lot in the afternoon. He succeeded in growing good crops of corn and peas on the Bermuda lot, and he utilized all three of these to develop a simple but thriving livestock enterprise. By 1850 the census enumerator found that Ware owned five horses, one hundred pigs and hogs, and twenty-four head of cattle, seven of which were listed as milch cows. His landlord later affirmed that all of these animals

existed elsewhere in the South, despite its cheapness, is attested by Daniel Lee, editor of the *Southern Cultivator*. In 1856 he spoke of the "large number [of white men] at the South who have no legal right nor interest in the soil [and] no homes of their own." *Ibid.*, XIV (1856), 282.

¹⁵ The little writing which these people may have done had bare chance of survival because of the transitory nature of their habitation. The proverb "Three movings are equal to one burning" has significant implications to the historian here. The state and historical society collections of letters of soldiers written during the Civil War period are the only important source of extant writings by the common people of the Old South. Absence from home and Army experience gave thousands of men their first incentive to write letters, and historical societies later encouraged their collection and preservation. While these letters deal largely with Army life, they nevertheless give much insight into social and economic conditions at home. For a study of the common soldier in the Confederate Army, based largely upon these letters, see Bell I. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Indianapolis, 1943).

were grown on the place. In addition, his field crop productions included 650 bushels of corn, one hundred bushels of peas and beans, four hundred bushels of sweet potatoes, three tons of hay, and three bales of cotton.¹⁶

In 1852 a spark from the chimney set fire to the house and Ware was forced, apparently by eviction, to leave the farm. Lane observed that "he parted from the place with many regrets and much reluctance," and one may safely infer that the landlord welcomed this opportunity to be rid of his prosperous tenant. Eight years later Ware was still in the county. "He [had] moved to another place where there was no pasture and his livestock [had] dwindled down to nothing," asserted his former landlord.¹⁷ The census enumerator in 1860 listed him as a farm laborer.

It is difficult to determine exact changes in the nature of the contracts between the landless farmer and the landlord which evolved during this period, for, like the post-bellum sharecropper's contract, it was seldom in writing and hence remained informal and flexible. Enough data exist, however, for the formulation of a hypothesis of declining economic status. For example, the census enumerator for Hancock County in 1850 listed 210 men as farmers who owned no real estate, but the terms "farm laborer" and "tenant" were never used in designating the occupation of the individual. There is, however, occasional use of the word "renter." The enumerator in 1860 listed 198 "farm laborers" but made no use of the terms "renter" or "tenant."¹⁸ While no very valid conclusions can be inferred from these facts alone, they do suggest that landless farmers throughout the county had dropped to the status of farm laborers, in keeping with the individual experience of David Ware. A system of tenancy had developed in the county before

¹⁶ David Lewis Phares, *The Farmer's Book of Grasses and Other Forage Plants for the Southern United States* (Starkville, 1881), p. 45; Charles Wallace Howard, *A Manual of the Cultivation of the Grasses* (Atlanta, 1881), p. 31; *Southern Cultivator*, XVIII, 265-66.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XVIII, 266. It is interesting to note here the progress that Hancock farmers made in livestock and grasses from 1840 to 1860. Lane himself became a foremost advocate of Bermuda grass for the area. And while reciting to his neighbors the lessons he had learned from Ware, he unwittingly left to posterity many of the foregoing biographical facts on this ante-bellum tenant farmer. Bermuda played no small part in the new system of farming that made Hancock County famous. A planter in the county wrote in 1848: "With us everybody has learned how to use, how to keep under, and how to appreciate Bermuda grass." *Ibid.*, VI (1848), 180.

¹⁸ Obviously no instructions were given enumerators to guide them in making a classification. The systems used varied widely from one county to another and from one census year to the next. No valid conclusions relative to percentage of farm tenancy can be made from a study of a single schedule. In Floyd County in 1860, for example, the enumerator listed 335 farmers on the schedule of agricultural productions as "renters." For Henry County, 175 were listed as "tenants." These terms were not used by enumerators in either of these counties in 1850. Also, no landless farmers appear on the agricultural schedules of Gordon, Hall, and Hancock counties in 1860, yet Schedule I lists many "farmers" in those counties who owned no real estate. Hence, grossly erroneous conclusions might easily be drawn through failure to check all facts on Schedule IV with those on Schedules I and II. The necessity for these precautions and the lack of consistency in many of the records greatly try the patience of the investigator.

1850 for the accommodation of landless farmers. But by 1860 such status in this plantation area had given way to the more popular methods of land operation, namely, wage labor and Negro slavery.¹⁹ The transition to share cropping, necessitated by events subsequent to Appomattox, was merely a new modification of an old system. Black freedmen were fitted into a tenant system previously devised, on a less servile basis, for white farmers without land.²⁰ As a rule, when large planters in the cotton belt have grown more prosperous, farm tenancy has given way to wage labor.

Not all of Hancock's landless farmers had become either emigrants or laborers by 1860. Fourteen actually advanced into the landowning group during the decade. Whether initiative and energy contributed more to their rise than marriage or inheritance or choice farm sites remains a question, but the latter explanation seems more probable.

A comparison of the agricultural productions of these fourteen farmers at the two census periods, one before and one after they made the transition to landownership, shows significant changes in crop emphasis and farming practices. For example, their livestock increased in value from an average of \$242 to \$1,164; their tools and implements advanced in value from an average of \$15 to \$182. The number of their milch cows alone rose 92 per cent above the 1850 level. The variety and production of subsistence crops increased markedly. More significant still is the fact that cotton lost its position as the most emphasized crop and ranked far down the scale in the order of productivity.²¹ Thus John Franks, a "renter" in 1850, produced sixteen bales of cotton; in 1860, as the owner of two hundred acres of land, he raised only half as much cotton but ample livestock and subsistence crops. Home manufacturing disappeared almost entirely from the list of enterprises of the new landowners.²² These facts indicate a remarkable similarity between land-use

¹⁹ At the same time, small holdings manned by yeomen farmers were the prevailing pattern in certain of the newer counties in western Georgia. For example, Heard, Carroll, and Paulding counties, located in the Upper Piedmont between the Chattahoochee River and the Alabama line, had very few slaves in 1860. Less than one per cent of the farmers in this area could be classed as planters. This part of Georgia was opened to settlers after 1827, and they came largely from the old plantation counties of middle Georgia.

²⁰ Many ante-bellum Southerners were acquainted with similar tenancy systems in 1860, such as those in England after the decline of feudalism and those of the Roman Republic in the days of Cato the Censor. The terminology associated with post-bellum farm tenancy in the Lower South was not new to Americans even in 1860. The term "cropper," for example, was used by an Illinois farmer in the 1850's when he wrote significantly that "Absence from home . . . [compelled him] to depend . . . on 'annual croppers' who were accustomed to skim over the ground with the 'bar share' plow." Illinois Agricultural Society, *Transactions*, III (1857-58), 408.

²¹ There was evidently no appreciable difference in weather conditions for the two census years that might have influenced these changes. John T. Henderson, *The Commonwealth of Georgia* (Atlanta, 1884), pp. 62-63; *Southern Cultivator*, XVIII, 285.

²² With the rising prosperity of planting enterprises throughout the decade, home manufacturing declined perceptibly among all classes. The decline was only slightly pronounced among small farmers and wage laborers.

patterns of landless farmers of the Lower South before 1860 and those of tenant farmers and croppers of the post-bellum era. This addiction to cash crops, the limited ownership of tools and livestock, and a supplementary income from odd jobs during the interval between crops have always been the lot of the landless farmer in the cotton belt.

A careful check of the names of nonlandowners appearing on both the 1850 and the 1860 census schedules shows that many of them had changed their occupation completely. Like the Negro tenant who during the 1930's tended to disappear from the more mechanized agricultural areas of the South, the landless farmer of 1850 in Hancock County was sometimes found, ten years later, among the low-paid industrial workers of the vicinity, or occasionally trying his hand at a semiskilled trade.²³

In 1860 there were 198 white farm laborers in the county. Ninety-nine per cent of them owned no real estate, and 91.6 per cent owned no personal property. There were ninety-six textile workers, all of whom appeared to have an economic status even lower than that of the farm laborers. The 139 overseers had a much higher position than either of the other two groups, despite stereotyped views in which they are pictured as inferiors. For example, 20 per cent of the overseers possessed personal property, and a few owned real estate. The factory workers, the landless farmers, and the overseers, together with their families, account for approximately 30 per cent of the total white population of the county in 1860.²⁴ The farm laborers and the overseers, taken together, comprised more than 57 per cent of the white agricultural population.

For purposes of detailed analysis the family heads and a few other individuals who were engaged in an occupation have been classified into seven occupational groups.²⁵ The landowning planters and farmers have been further classified into three subdivisions, based upon the value of individual real-estate holdings.²⁶ By assigning the figures for property ownership to all

²³ Mechanization may have been a factor in causing this change in occupational status. An enthusiastic citizen in 1860 claimed that Hancock farmers had "more labor-saving machinery and agricultural implements, larger and better plows . . . than any people in the world." *Southern Cultivator*, XVIII, 341.

²⁴ These three groups represented a total of 1,134 persons. The landowning agricultural population accounted for 1,695 people, or approximately 45 per cent of the total white population.

²⁵ It has been impossible to classify 7.2 per cent of the families on the census schedules, even after checking all available data. It is safe to conclude that these unclassified families were in one of the lower economic categories.

²⁶ This is perhaps the simplest and most valid criterion for the classification of landowners. False conclusions relative to the scale of agricultural operations of a planter may be drawn when reliance is placed in the number of slaves he owned, or in the number of acres under his control. The use of hired labor and tenants, the variation in the age and quality of slaves, and in the fertility and condition of the soil are factors of great importance not measured in slave or landownership alone. A check of individual items on the "Schedule of Slave Inhabitants" for Hancock County shows that a planter sometimes owning fewer than ten slaves had more adult

groups, the various categories in Table 1 have been arranged to approximate a descending order of economic well-being.

TABLE 1
ECONOMIC STATUS OF OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, 1860

Occupational Group	Number	Total in families	Per cent owning realty	Per cent owning slaves	Per cent owning other personal property
Planters and farmers*					
\$10,000 and above....	56	267	100.0	100.0	100.0
\$9,999 to \$1,001.....	220	1,049	100.0	92.2	100.0
\$1,000 and under.....	85	379	100.0	41.6	91.7
Professional class.....	48	195	62.4	54.1	77.1
Merchants.....	29	101	50.0	45.0	75.9
Tradesmen.....	116	414	13.7	7.7	26.9
Overseers.....	139	367	1.4	6.4	20.8
Farm laborers.....	198	610	1.2	0.016	8.4
Factory workers.....	96	157	0.9	0.0	0.0**
All others.....	110	276

*While the lowest landowning agricultural subdivision (those whose land was valued at \$1,000 and under) is placed third from the top in this table, it is evident that its position would be lower than this when measured by other criteria. For example, see the values of land and personal property assigned to the various groups in Table 2.

**The absence of personal property assigned to factory workers is explained by the failure of enumerators to list personal property evaluations of less than \$100.

Forty-eight professional people were enumerated in the county. This group occupied an economic position above that of any other nonplanter group and, as Table 2 indicates, above that of the small farmers. Part-time occupation in planting enterprises is responsible for their relatively high position. Sixteen of the professional men were physicians, and seven of these were also planters of considerable means. There were five Baptist ministers, all of whom were landowners. One of the four Methodist ministers was a planter, as was the Methodist bishop, George Foster Pierce, who owned eighteen slaves and nine hundred acres of land.²⁷ Other professional people included ten teachers, five lawyers, three druggists, two dentists, and a surgeon; some of these were also connected with planting interests.

able-bodied laborers than a neighbor owning more than twenty. Similar instances were found on the agricultural schedules relative to acres of land. The total value of land and slaves is perhaps the best single index where comparisons are to be made between groups. Another index, which can be found only on the agricultural schedule, is the value of agricultural productions. The validity of this index for general use is somewhat questionable unless the factor of varying weather on crop conditions can be eliminated.

²⁷ The itinerant nature of the Methodist ministry probably rendered him less disposed to own land than the Baptist minister.

The plantation life was the ideal to which all white men in the county seemed to aspire. The presence of this model is indicated in various ways other than its popularity among professional men. For example, there were progressively higher percentages of slave ownership on the upper rungs of the economic and social ladder, and the more prosperous planters monopolized the higher age brackets. Also, in the middle and lower property-owning groups there was a high ratio of personalty to realty,²⁸ indicating that members of these groups, while striving for upper-class status, gave great importance to slave ownership. Figures supporting these conclusions are shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2
ECONOMIC STATUS OF OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN 1860

Occupational Group	Average age of each group	Per cent owning slaves	Average value of realty	Average value of personalty	Ratio of personalty to realty
Planters and farmers					
\$10,000 and above....	49.7	100	\$21,786	\$45,434	1.99
\$9,999 to \$1,001.....	45.8	92.2	4,268	12,904	3.02
\$1,000 and under.....	44.9	41.6	719	2,348	3.26
Professional class.....	34.85	54.1	2,844	8,025	2.82
Merchants.....	33.5	45	1,862	5,848	3.14
Tradesmen.....	38.03	7.7	216	874	4.04
Overseers.....	28.8	6.4	72	1,524	21.16
Farm laborers.....	30.06	.01	15	44	2.87
Factory workers.....	24.09	0	4	0	0

In the occupations of individuals in all categories at the two census periods, there appears a decided tendency for lawyer, doctor, carpenter, merchant, and tailor to move into agriculture, as fast as the accumulation of capital would permit. The complete abandonment of a trade or profession for agriculture may have been greatly stimulated by the increasing prosperity of the landowner, for the 1850's was a prosperous period in Southern agriculture. The following letter, however, written by a middle Georgian in 1849, expresses the great ambition of a young man to engage in farming because it afforded him an ideal way of life:²⁹

I desire above all things to be a "Farmer" but I must first have the means. Then the question is, how am I to obtain these? My only resources are, a tolerably

²⁸ That is, the ratio of slaves to land. This is taken as an indication that ownership of slaves by the middle and lower economic groups was of greater importance than ownership of land. The property of overseers, for example, consisted almost entirely of slaves. Planters in the upper-most economic subdivision were inclined to put more money into land and less into slaves.

²⁹ "The pursuits of agriculture have become not a mere business of dollars and cents [with us] . . . but a business of pleasure," wrote a Hancock planter in 1846. *Southern Cultivator*, IV (1846), 5.

liberal education, a rather weak constitution, and a firm resolution to do something. . . . I wish to be a farmer because . . . it is the most honest, upright, and sure way of securing all the comforts of life. I never heard of a man who became bankrupt by farming. Farmers only become so by some kind of speculation. What can be more attractive than a well managed farm, with its fat hogs, horses, mules, and stock of all kinds? . . . I would say, nothing, unless it be the old farmers charming daughter who understands all about domestic things . . . and who has good taste enough to cultivate . . . a few flowers and floral vines about the door, to add beauty and loveliness to the scene. Oh! that I could win such a fair one as this. But, alas for me! wealth alone can win the fair one's heart, and gain the old man's consent these days, especially if he has a few "dimes" himself.³⁰

This letter also suggests the difficulties involved in acquiring the land necessary for the ideal occupation. It was not an easy task to break into the landowning class in Hancock County in the 1850's,³¹ and this was generally true of the plantation cotton belt. While the value of real estate owned by the average farmer in the third subdivision was only \$719, the average value of personal property in this category was \$2,348. Thus he needed more than \$3,000 to join the landowning group, less than half of whose members possessed slaves and could lay claim to the plantation way of life. A study of the land values of individual farmers shows that the better and more

TABLE 3
STATUS OF LANDOWNING AGRICULTURAL SUBDIVISIONS

Planting subdivisions	Per cent owning slaves	Average number of slaves to each planter	Average number of un-improved acres	Average number of improved acres	Average per cent of un-improved land
\$10,000 and above....	100	55.1	1,983	910	68.5
\$9,999 to \$1,001.....	92.2	15.5	397	229	63.5
\$1,000 and under.....	41.6	2.2	101	64	61.2

productive arable lands were already in the hands of wealthy owners who probably had no desire to part with them. In addition, the large planters had secured a great proportion of the unimproved land available in the community.³² This is indicated in Table 3. Large planters in the 1850's were

³⁰ *Ibid.*, VII (1849), 10.

³¹ This may account for the migration of many rural youths to towns and cities, a noticeable phenomenon of the 1850's. "A crying evil is the training of country boys for the law, encouraging them to leave home and seek in towns promotion," complained a Georgian in 1861. *Ibid.*, XIX (1861), 78. "This itching of young men for the learned professions is a great evil in the land and should be discouraged by all who have an influence," said the Savannah *Republican*, quoted in *ibid.*, XVII, 467. These professional men usually went into agriculture after they acquired sufficient capital.

³² This was like buying an insurance policy against soil exhaustion and the necessity for moving westward. As Professor Clark found in her study of the small farmer of Tennessee, the

putting more money into land and less into slaves.³³ In contrast, smaller planters were apparently demanding more slaves. This situation, throughout the cotton belt, was a major factor in the boom in slave prices during that decade. In 1860, for example, planters in the first subdivision owned one slave to 52.3 acres (improved and unimproved) while in the second subdivision the ratio was one to 40.4.³⁴ Many large planters were selling their surplus slaves to good advantage and keeping for their own use the younger and more efficient operatives, which is shown by a comparison of age brackets of slave families belonging to the different groups at the two census periods.

Of the 8,137 slaves in the county in 1860, over 96 per cent were in the hands of agricultural groups, including nine overseers and two farm laborers. The 302 slaves belonging to the nonagricultural group were widely distributed in all categories of this group, the factory workers being the only class where no instance of slave ownership appeared. The nonagricultural slave owners included eight merchants, three nonfarming physicians, two nonfarming attorneys, three teachers, two carpenters, a wagoner, tanner, coachmaker, blacksmith, clerk, druggist, and the county sheriff. Nancy Wadkins, a free Negro, owned two slaves.³⁵

The number of slaves in the county was more than double that of the white population. This situation caused, and perhaps to a great extent determined, the robust program of diversification and subsistence farming recorded for the community in the late 1850's.³⁶ From the sprawling plantation of David Dickson to the twenty-five-acre farm of Shepherd Wilson there was a sound, self-sufficing economy, as indicated on the agricultural schedule. Measured by prices then current, the value of the subsistence crops was more

unimproved land was used for pasturage and brought into cultivation when older plots became exhausted. Clark, p. 9. It should be pointed out here that the prevailing low price of land was by no means an indication of its availability. Not only was land undervalued on the census returns and on the county tax books, but in some communities it was simply not for sale.

³³ The plantation of David Dickson offers a typical example of conservatism in the use of slave labor by the larger planters. On his 13,000-acre plantation in Hancock County there were only fifty-five "full hands" in 1859. *Southern Cultivator*, XVII, 345; XVIII (1860), 203. Dickson used highly trained and efficient operatives and claimed thus to have obtained high production levels without excessive overhead costs in upkeep and supervision. George Frederick Hunnicutt, *David Dickson's and James M. Smith's Farming* (Atlanta, 1910), pp. 31 *et passim*. Out of a total of 144 slaves assigned to him by the 1860 census, only ten were over thirty-five years of age. Children and young adults abounded. Dickson wrote in 1859, "Double the number of slaves and the price [of land] will depreciate one-half." *Southern Cultivator*, XVII, 255.

³⁴ The ratio was one slave to 75.2 acres for farmers in the lowest subdivision, but less than half of the farmers in this subdivision owned no slaves.

³⁵ Apparently a legal technicality applying to members of her own family.

³⁶ The Sandersville *Central Georgian* in 1855 made an observation that substantiates census data relative to diversification in the county. While criticizing the average Southern planter for growing cotton and buying subsistence products, the newspaper stated that "the most thrifty planters in Hancock, are those who raise their own pork and flour, at the risk of making less cotton." Quoted in *Southern Cultivator*, XIII (1855), 305.

than twice that of the cotton crop in most individual cases. In the county as a whole subsistence crops and livestock exceeded by more than four times the value of the cotton crop. The very large planters, however, were inclined to grow relatively more cotton than the small planters or farmers, but the big operators' failure to grow a great variety of subsistence crops was partly compensated by their progress in the raising of livestock. The high average value of their animals indicates that they were taking advantage of improved breeds and probably slaughtering or selling off their inferior stock to less fortunate neighbors. Taken together, these facts point to a twofold purpose behind the practice of the large planters who were buying up the unimproved land: to provide fresh land for the future expansion of cotton growing in the vicinity of the homestead and to secure range for livestock. These purposes were interchangeable, in that livestock could be transferred from woodland pastures to abandoned farm land in the process of expansion.³⁷

This concentration of landownership and the adaptation of the plantation to raising livestock undoubtedly had an adverse effect upon the fortunes of tenant farmers and squatters, many of whom were forced to seek employment as wage earners. As previously noted, the factory workers had an economic status lower than that of any other group. Only one of the ninety-six persons in this category is credited with possessing property of any kind. Indicative of low wages is the fact that often entire families—children, adults, males, and females—were factory workers. Only twenty-nine factory workers are known to have been heads of families, and some of these were widows. The average age of the worker was 24.09 years. The family size was 4.1.³⁸

The economic status of the farm laborers was a little higher than that of

³⁷ Soil exhaustion always tends to encourage the accumulation of large estates. When land becomes less fertile, new methods of farming require an outlay of capital and the acquisition of knowledge necessary for putting the new methods into practice. These added requirements cause small holdings to become marginal to their owners. Large planters in the 1850's not only had the capital or credit with which to purchase fertilizers, livestock, fences, and improved tools but possessed some of the leisure and intellectual capacity essential to learning the new methods. The *Savannah Journal and Courier* observed in 1855: "No county in Georgia can produce more intelligence and refinement than Hancock, and its agricultural skill and energy are preeminent." Quoted in *Soil of the South*, V (1855), 321. These intelligent and skillful farmers were buying submarginal farms and converting them into profitable holdings.

³⁸ A study of the unmarried factory workers reveals pertinent facts concerning social stratification. For example, the unmarried factory laborers lived generally with the families of farm laborers and tradesmen, and there was probably no social distinction between these three occupational groups. The overseer, although ranking below the tradesman in economic well-being, enjoyed a higher social status than the latter. The occupational origin of sixty-four of the ninety-six factory workers has been determined: twenty-nine were sons, daughters, or wives of factory workers; seventeen came from families whose head was engaged in carpentry; families of teamsters, farm laborers, shoemakers, and overseers contributed eight, five, four, and one, respectively. Thus the tradesman's family supplied most of the factory workers. Families of farm laborers contributed a small share. Only one representative of an overseer's family was found working in the factory. Farm laborers might associate freely with factory workers, but they showed a reluctance to send their children into this occupation.

the factory workers. Thirty-three of the farm laborers were unmarried and were sons of small farmers. In all probability they were working on their fathers' farms as unpaid members of the family. In addition, there were 132 sons of small farmers who were not assigned an occupation by the enumerator and who, in all likelihood, were engaged as unpaid family workers. If the enumerator had listed the occupation of both the male and female members of the small-farmer family who worked in the fields, the total number of farm laborers would have been increased considerably. According to the enumerator's designations, however, there were only 198 farm laborers in the county in 1860. Of these, 107 were heads of families and the average family size was 4.9. Fourteen of the married farm laborers were born in other states and five in foreign countries. There were also five free colored laborers in the group. Most of the unmarried farm laborers were living in the homes of their parents, who were also farm laborers, overseers, or small farmers. Only three were sons of tradesmen.

Significantly, the agricultural families, regardless of their category, did not often send their sons into the trades.³⁹ While the tradesman was apparently more prosperous than the overseer and the agricultural laborer, there are no data indicating that sons of planters, small farmers, overseers, farm laborers, or even native factory workers entered any trade other than carpentry. Conversely, the tradesman's son rarely became an overseer or a farm laborer.

The tradesmen group contained the highest percentage of bachelors and, except for an occasional seamstress, there were no females in this group. The average age of the unmarried tradesman was comparatively high, because this group had the largest percentage of immigrants from other states and from foreign countries. Thirteen came from Ireland alone, and they dominated the stonemason trade in the vicinity. The pursuit of a trade seemed to offer the greatest promise for the foreign-born who sought to acquire means necessary to enter the planting occupation. There are many records of such transitions in biographies of commonplace ante-bellum Southerners.⁴⁰

³⁹ On the larger plantations the tradesman's work was often performed by skilled Negro slaves. This practice was frowned upon by those who sought to make the trades attractive to Southern white men. "Confine the Negro to the soil thus to elevate and open the mechanic trades to the non-slaveholders around them," advised an agricultural reformer in 1861. *Southern Cultivator*, XIX (1861), 14.

⁴⁰ Jarvis Van Buren came to Georgia from New York as a foundryman. He became an agriculturist and was largely responsible for the establishment of the commercial apple industry in northern Georgia before 1860. Charles A. Peabody, another Northerner, came to Columbus, Georgia, and set up a tailoring establishment. Later, as a prominent Southern horticulturist, he helped to edit the *Soil of the South* and the *American Cotton Planter*; he did much to develop truck farming in the gulf region. Richard Peters came to Georgia from Pennsylvania as an obscure engineer for the Georgia Railroad Company. Through judicious purchase of real estate around the rapidly growing village of Marthasville (now Atlanta), he acquired a modest fortune and became one of the leading livestock farmers in the ante-bellum South. Robert Nelson, a

These ambitious immigrants were not inclined to become tenant farmers, farm laborers, or factory workers, and they were not qualified as plantation overseers.

In the same way that the occupation of the tradesman was used by non-natives as a steppingstone to land ownership, the starting point of the ambitious native without training in a profession was the occupation of overseer. The overseer was far from the bottom of the social and economic ladder.⁴¹ Of the 139 overseers enumerated, forty-two lived with the planter's family and probably enjoyed freely the society of his household. Twenty of these were sons of planters in whose homes they were recorded as living, which substantiates the well-known theory that planters often employed the oldest unmarried son as overseer. Some data relative to the occupational origin of the overseers may be found in Table 4. Apparently no farm laborers, factory

TABLE 4
OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN OF OVERSEERS, 1860

Overseers who were sons of overseers.....	22
Overseers who were sons of planters and farmers.....	20
Unmarried overseers living in home of planters (no kinship).....	22
Unmarried overseers living in separate house from planter.....	30

workers, nor tradesmen entered the overseer class. Where their origin can be determined, they were recruited from the families of small planters and farmers.

Nine overseers owned a total of twenty-one slaves. Twenty others had personal property of various kinds, and only two possessed realty. None of the property-owning overseers was a son of the planter by whom he was employed, indicating that his property may not have been acquired through patrimony. The overseer group was the most indigenous of all: there were no foreign-born among them and only two were born outside the state. Fifty-four per cent of the total were unmarried. Like the tradesmen, the percentage of elderly bachelors among them was large.

Danish nurseryman and jack-of-all-trades, was instrumental in founding the commercial peach industry in middle Georgia before 1860. Many foreigners settled in Augusta and engaged in the nursery business. Most prominent of them was Prosper Jules Berckmans, who was the originator and disseminator of more worthy ornamental forms perhaps than any other Southern horticulturist. He later acquired 1,100 acres of land in Hancock County, on which were planted peach and pecan orchards. Bonner, "Genesis of Agricultural Reform in the Cotton Belt," *Jour. Southern Hist.*, IX, 492 *et passim*; Thomas Hubbard McHatton, "Gardening in Georgia," *Garden History of Georgia, 1733-1933*, ed. Loraine Meeks Cooney and Hattie C. Rainwater (Atlanta, 1933), p. 132; *Atlanta Constitution*, Oct. 5, 1941.

⁴¹ Many contemporary documents attest the efficiency of Hancock's overseers. While reporting that the county had "splendid overseers," an observer in 1860 affirmed that Hancock planters no longer relied upon the judgment of their hired managers but "trusted less to them than any people in the world." *Southern Cultivator*, XVIII, 175.

The factory wage earners formed the lowest socioeconomic group in the county and comprised nearly 10 per cent of all the gainfully employed who were visited by the census enumerator. Since the entire family of the factory laborer often worked long hours at low wages, the group very likely did not supplement its income by other enterprises.⁴² The absence of a home garden, for instance, probably lowered the standard of living more than any available data indicate.

These industrial wage earners appear to have been the genuine poor whites in this particular community. The poor whites of historical tradition, however, were those who squatted on the land of others, dwelt in rude cabins, and eked out an existence by applying their wits to various enterprises, from hunting and fishing to subsistence farming. These poor whites, like David Ware, may have possessed more initiative and stubborn individualism than has ever been attributed to them. They might be understood better if it is remembered that they were by-products of a society wholly dominated by the agrarian philosophy. The contemporary observers who denounced them for their refusal to abandon the freedom of the fields and streams for stultifying labor in factory or workshop were passing judgment upon a rural agrarian phenomenon, and the standards of this judgment were those of a more urban industrial society.⁴³ In many Southern communities there is still a feeling among landless farmers that one loses caste when he surrenders to the lure of the cotton mills, although he may gain materially in the process. This attitude must have been much more pronounced among landless farmers in the 1850's, when agriculture was accepted unquestionably as the ideal way of life.⁴⁴

Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, in his interpretation of Southern history, emphasized the importance of the Negro aspect of the slave rather than the slave aspect of the Negro.⁴⁵ This interpretation explains the apparent solidarity of all classes of white men in the ante-bellum South. The stories of Richard Malcolm Johnston illustrate the unified character of Southern life in his

⁴² An excellent discussion of a Southern mill village of this period, not far from Hancock County, appears in Broadus Mitchell, *William Gregg, Factory Master of the Old South* (Chapel Hill, 1928), pp. 34 *et passim*.

⁴³ The "Vanderbilt agrarians" have given some prominence to this idea in *Twelve Southerners, I'll Take My Stand* (New York, 1930).

⁴⁴ By 1856 Daniel Lee, the Northern-bred editor of the *Southern Cultivator*, had repudiated his earlier idea that free white labor would be available for manufacturing enterprises in the South. "What is unsteady, irresponsible hired labor worth, when the freeman often forsakes his plow to the ruin of a crop, to hunt wild turkeys or visit groceries?" he wrote. "Without mental and moral training and a high standard of reliable, voluntary labor by the week, month, and year, are [*sic*] hardly to be expected in a mild climate." *Southern Cultivator*, XIV (1856), 282.

⁴⁵ Phillips, *The Course of the South to Secession* (New York, 1939), pp. 151-65.

native Hancock in the decade before the Civil War.⁴⁶ This solidarity was more apparent than real, however, and owed what reality it had to the presence of large numbers of black men in a society dominated by whites. The foregoing data show that approximately one third of all white families were both slaveless and landless and possessed only their labor with which to bargain in economic competition. Another third owned land but no slaves. The upper third possessed both land and slaves in varying proportions. This upper group had a strong vested interest in the institution of slavery. The middle group aspired to the same kind of life as the upper group, but only a few of its members were able to achieve it after 1850, when the flush conditions of the frontier in the cotton country had subsided. Members of the lowest group may have had similar aspirations, but their prime interest in slavery arose from the fact that it maintained a floor to their social and economic position. This floor was preserved through the legal sanction of a permanent, less privileged, servile class.

Although many of the muster rolls, church minutes, and courthouse records of earlier communities are still extant and offer abundant data for the genealogist, they fail to give many facts which the objective historian wishes to know. The most reliable and comprehensive logbook of any American community's social and economic life is to be found among the faded pages of the detailed census schedules. These schedules for Hancock County, when examined microscopically, tell a story of segregation, aversion to certain economic pursuits, and consequent social cleavages not greatly unlike those which prevail on opposite sides of railroad tracks in modern industrial society. These admittedly represent some of the later aspects of ante-bellum Southern life, evolving after the passage of the frontier in the eastern cotton belt.

Romantic and backward-looking Georgians of today, with a flair for genealogy in their blood, are wont to take great pride in a forebear who originated in Old Hancock. As in the case of F.F.V.'s whose ancestors arrived in the Old Dominion by the grace of God and indentured servitude, the economic status of the ancestor makes very little difference to the Georgian, for time and distance lend undue enchantment. It is a sobering thought, however, to reflect that the successful planting aristocracy of Hancock County did not rest entirely upon the backs of its eight thousand Negro slaves. A

⁴⁶ Robert Cecil Beale, *The Development of the Short Story in the South* (Charlottesville, 1911), p. 53. For an example of these stories see Richard Malcolm Johnston, *Old Times in Middle Georgia* (New York, 1897). Johnston's stories bear ample testimony to the presence in Hancock County of a large group of white people living on the border line of privation on the one side and competence on the other. The unpolished speech, rough manners, and the commonplace tenor of their lives are portrayed in such a manner that one feels the author has treated them with remarkable fidelity.

great mass of landless and slaveless white men occupied a broad socio-economic area between the slaves and their masters. The dynamic nature of the aristocratic, agrarian society of the plantation masters in this community cannot be denied, nor should their contribution to its economic and cultural development be minimized. Yet the fact remains that the social and economic organization which produced them was far from perfect when measured by the liberal standards of later generations—or by the more advanced standards of their own generation.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

The Introductory College Course in Civilization¹

THOMAS C. MENDENHALL

WAR is proverbially credited with at least one virtue: it subjects existing institutions, including college courses in history and the textbooks that accompany them, to a rigorous if not discriminating test of their general usefulness. The present emphasis on the sciences and mathematics has stimulated a much-needed examination of the liberal arts or humanities and of the role of history in these studies. Amidst this present stocktaking the appearance of another textbook in the history of civilization raises the question of the nature and purpose of the basic survey course in history, where it had been trending in the years before the war and where it is going next.

Textbooks, as even their authors will testify in moments of frankness, are necessary evils, born of the inexorable logic of the past twenty-five years, when the swiftly mounting college enrollments have combined with the new vogue for social sciences to force history departments to offer large lecture courses. A lecture to six hundred students, with the aid of a loudspeaker, has moved a long way from Mark Hopkins on the log. Accompanying quiz sections have furnished some check on the students' accomplishment and, since no library could provide the reading for such a horde, a textbook for each student, to include most of the reading for the course, was the only solution.

Subject to a variety of forces, the scope and approach of these textbooks has naturally changed character in the last fifty years. On the one hand, there has been a steady enlarging of what historians have included as history. In 1894, G. B. Adams wrote *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, the parent textbook in the European field, as Professor Packard has shown. Civilization to Adams meant primarily the history of institutions, but since 1894 the social, economic, and intellectual aspects of history have successively gained recognition as integral parts of the whole. In the text under discussion history is defined as "cultural change," and under this banner considerable sections on

¹ This review of Walter T. Wallbank and Alastair M. Taylor's *Civilization—Past and Present*, Volume I, *Paleolithic Era to 1650*, and Volume II, *About 1650, into the Fifth Decade of the Twentieth Century* (Chicago, Scott, Foresman and Company, 1942), develops into a discussion of the introductory college course in civilization. The editor has taken the liberty of placing it under what seems the more appropriate rubric "Notes and Suggestions."

anthropology, sociology, the fine arts, and the history of ideas are superimposed on a basic narrative of political history.

Curriculum movements of a more general nature have likewise influenced the nature of college history offerings. The general acceptance of the Eliot system of wide freedom of electives and the immense growth of undergraduate numbers, with the consequent lowering of admission standards, have combined to put squarely on the historians the burden of providing both the general background which the student missed in school and the modest integration which is provided under a system of free election. The so-called survey course, chaos to Coolidge in sixty painless lessons, has been the answer. Either in hasty discussions of a general text or by means of a lecture, students at the freshman or sophomore level have been taken on a Cook's Tour of ancient, medieval, modern, English, or American civilization. The precise type of offering is generally determined by the role which the survey course is given in the over-all curriculum of the institution, the historical interests of the history faculty, or the presence of good lecturers in certain fields.

These various factors have contributed to the evolution of the survey courses in Western civilization. And in an effort to satisfy the obvious need for reading materials, the textbook has moved past such landmarks as Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages* (1894); the early Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe* (1916); Barnes, *History of Western Civilization* (1935); and such regional surveys of civilization as Schevill (1925) or Ferguson and Bruun (1936), to the present crop of surveys of world civilization which began to appear a few years ago. Once begun, the flow of textbooks may well have had a reciprocating effect on the history courses; many smaller institutions are inclined to follow the lead which the larger universities and the textbooks provide, and large courses inevitably find themselves constricted in the name of uniformity to conform to a textbook pattern.

Civilization—Past and Present may be taken for the moment to represent the end point reached in the evolution of the survey course and its textbook partner at the time when the outbreak of the war diverted the efforts of historians and publishers to the new war courses. Containing over a thousand pages in its two volumes, the book is an admirable example of the history of civilization idea. In reply to the inevitable charge of thinness of treatment, double columns are employed in order to crowd in as much text as possible. Pictures and graphic charts are intelligently located in the text. R. M. Chapin, jr., of *Time*, has contributed about 150 maps whose simple yet extremely graphic technique carries great power. The book is divided into

chapters of approximately thirty pages each, designed to provide a week's reading. An introductory analysis, a chronological table, and a closing summary outline the general scope of each chapter and its relation to the whole. The book sets out to survey "the history of man—his governmental, economic, social, religious, intellectual and esthetic activities—from the earliest times to the present, in Europe, Asia, and in the Americas." The authors consider that the text's special merits lie in the inclusion of non-European cultures and in the considerable attention—almost half of the second volume—devoted to the twentieth century and contemporary problems. Accepting the premises on which the book is constructed, one can only question proportion and emphasis. The bird's-eye views of the early chapters on non-European and ancient civilizations are in some respects more balanced than the later, European sections, where the adoption of the orthodox political framework has sometimes reduced the cultural treatment almost to a list of names. Also to achieve brevity, the summaries resort to a degree of generalization bordering on the misleading. But these are matters of opinion; given the task, the book is an admirable synthesis of world civilization.

Three years ago Professor Packard, in his *Digest* of introductory courses in history, remarked that "we have probably put into these introductory courses by now all that they will ever hold, the next step must be selection and omission, a process which calls both for judgment and courage." A critical examination of *Civilization—Past and Present* leads to the same conclusion. With this last extension of the survey course to include all of historical time, every civilization, and each different aspect of those civilizations, saturation or the breaking point is surely reached. So much has been poured in that neither the ablest lecturer nor the most lucid textbook can hope to boil the mixture down to the point where it can be completely consumed in the time available. The remaining alternatives offer cold comfort; determined concentration on one issue results in patent neglect of other important subjects, and the scope of the modern textbook is so vast that the lecturer cannot allow it to carry the narrative alone but must assist in the synthesis.

One possible answer is suggested by Professor Packard in the lines quoted above. Selection and omission offer at least momentary relief. A series of spotlight views of civilization at significant stages, with virtual blackout during the interim periods, represents one way of breaking up the continuous narrative of history which has become so broad as to be unmanageable. In this fashion a succession of kaleidoscopic portraits of Europe at the time of barbarian invasions, the twelfth century, the Renaissance, or the eighteenth century, for instance, would afford the course enough breathing space so that

the lecturer and the reading could combine to give the students real depth. Or the topical approach, already prominent in the social sciences generally and employed with novel effect in the two outstanding works in European economic history, might open the way to discriminating selection. How men have supported, governed, and defended themselves, and what they have considered worth defending—any number of such topics come immediately to mind. A modification of this topical approach is proving useful in the area studies now under way at many colleges. A preliminary survey of the present state of a civilization and its institutions can be followed by a series of shafts drilled deep into the past to show the origins and development of the contemporary scene, with even a glance for those facets of the past which have only indirectly survived in the present. In a variety of such ways more focus and depth could be given to the survey course of the future while still retaining its desired sweep.

But there is another function of the survey course as yet unrealized. Great emphasis has been placed on factual content and even on interpretation; all the development of the last years as traced above has enlarged the mass of material pertinent to such courses and thus increased the variety of interpretations possible. But the role of history as a method and a discipline has been correspondingly ignored. The techniques of the historian as applied to human beings and human evidence have a potential usefulness for students destined for every walk of life, although instruction in them has been shortsightedly reserved primarily for future members of the craft. In general, the pioneer work of Lucy Salmon or Fred Fling has lacked followers. Whatever practice in method or firsthand experience with source materials has persisted in the survey course has been occasional and disconnected, a gesture barren of results. In this regard historians have helped to earn the accusation of “useless,” which critics of the liberal arts often employ when comparing them with more obviously tool subjects such as mathematics or the sciences. The determining of facts, the weighing of evidence, the complexities of human character, of bias, and of interpretation are all tools of great practical usefulness wherein the historian is supremely fitted to be the teacher. Instruction in the use of such techniques should be a part of every survey course, not merely in the form of a few desultory readings in a source book but in the form of an integrated historical laboratory as vital to the whole course as the chemistry laboratory is to the chemistry lecture. In this fashion the historian can restore that depth which the survey course is gradually losing as well as do his part to revitalize education in the liberal arts by showing that to set men free is also to make them useful.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

UNFINISHED BUSINESS. By *Stephen Bonsal*. Introduction by Hugh Gibson. (Garden City, New York: 1944. Pp. xi, 313. \$3.00.)

STEPHEN Bonsal, now in his eightieth year, is the dean of American foreign newspaper correspondents. In 1915 he made the acquaintance of Colonel Edward M. House in Berlin, who found his knowledge of foreign languages useful, and in the autumn of 1918, by which time he had become a lieutenant colonel, he was attached to House's staff as adviser on Balkan affairs. Then he became the interpreter for House and President Wilson at secret meetings where no stenographic notes were taken or official translations made. Later Colonel Bonsal was sent on special missions to Budapest, Vienna, Belgrade, Prague, and Berlin. At the request of Wilson and House he kept a journal, in which he recorded not only official proceedings but also many human items. For twenty-five years the diary lay untouched, except for some commentaries added in footnotes. It is now published because Arthur Krock and other friends, fearful that "we were beginning to repeat the same mistakes that led to the tragedy of Versailles," persuaded Colonel Bonsal that his "objective, straightforward story" might help us to "find a safer away amid the old pitfalls."

To the specialist in the history of the Paris Peace Conference the book will bring little that is new, for most of its secrets have long since come to light in other publications. *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House* and volumes released by the Department of State have told how House forced the Allies to accept the Fourteen Points (with two modifications). David Hunter Miller's *The Drafting of the Covenant* provides far more detail than do Colonel Bonsal's notes about the meetings at which the League of Nations was discussed. The story of the German revolution which the colonel picked up in Berlin in September, 1919, has been elaborated in voluminous German tomes. Likewise, what he learned privately from the investigating committee of the Reichstag about German policy toward the United States is only a fraction of what was put into the volumes officially published by the committee. The manuscript of Jagow, the German foreign minister in 1914, on the origin of the war, which was shown privately to Bonsal, was subsequently published by the author.

On the other hand, very few people have read the treatises mentioned in the previous paragraph (or have ever heard of them), and therefore the story which Colonel Bonsal tells will be new to most readers and his book may be heartily recommended. It reveals clearly how complex a business it is to make peace (or to carry on negotiations between many powers) and how statesmen who see each

other day after day get on one another's nerves, use sharp words, and do foolish things. There is certainly much to be said for the view that another peace conference had better not be held and that the terms of peace should be negotiated through ordinary diplomatic channels. For Americans the particular lesson to be drawn from Colonel Bonsal's narrative seems to be that the business of making peace remained unfinished, partly, even largely, because President Wilson was defeated in the election of 1918 and was unable or unwilling to compromise with the Senate. In the autumn of 1919 Colonel Bonsal, with the encouragement of House—and this is new—secured from Senator Lodge concessions in respect of the reservations proposed which, House and Bonsal hoped, would be acceptable to Wilson. Unfortunately, no reply ever came from the White House.

Colonel Bonsal was devoted to Clemenceau, whom he had known for thirty years, and he certainly makes the "Tiger" appear human and understandable; some of the stories told are delicious. Lord Robert Cecil (now Lord Cecil) was constantly rude to certain Belgian and French statesmen whom he did not like, just as W. M. Hughes, the Australian prime minister, was often rude to Wilson. Wilson in turn took delight in snubbing Lansing; on one occasion, however, he would have liked to "tell the Irish to go to hell"! Mr. Lloyd George appears as a political chameleon; once he and Clemenceau would have come to blows, had not Wilson separated them.

In view of the endless controversy about Germany and the Germans it is worth noting that Colonel Bonsal came early to the conclusion that the German Social Democrats were hopeless, for they excused the crimes of the German army and the barbarities of submarine warfare. When he visited Germany in September, 1919, he observed that the legend of the "stab in the back" was already widely current. In Vienna he noted that the responsibility for the war was being laid on the Hungarian premier, Count Tisza. He also heard several new explanations of the death of the Archduke Rudolf at Meyerling but concluded that the mystery had not been solved and never would be.

It need hardly be said that Colonel Bonsal writes well and tells his stories with verve, without using the flashy style favored by so many contemporary correspondents. Further installments from his diaries will be cordially welcomed.

University of Chicago

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

THE LEGACY OF THE LIBERAL SPIRIT: MEN AND MOVEMENTS IN THE MAKING OF MODERN THOUGHT. By *Fred Gladstone Bratton*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1943. Pp. x, 319. \$2.75.)

THIS is a book for laymen rather than for scholars. A good many of the latter might find it profitable reading, but the chances are that their preference for studies based on original source material instead of on secondary works and their demand for accuracy in details would cause them to miss its vital significance and

its important, over-all truth. Thoughtful lay readers, on the other hand, should find it both informative and stimulating. It should introduce them to thinkers and ideas with which they have been entirely unacquainted and should throw new light for them on more or less familiar men and views.

The story, as the title indicates, deals with the historical growth of liberalism. The word "liberal," as the author uses it, stands for "a way of life which emphasizes the primary importance of the person, the freedom of the individual, free press, free speech, constitutional government, tolerance, the scientific spirit of inquiry, the rational outlook, social reform, popular education, a relative philosophy, and an ethico-social religion." The development of this attitude—its "soul" as distinguished from its various embodiments—has had a long history, and the aim of this survey is "to paint in true form and color the most representative thinkers" of the "seven ages of liberal thought," from Origen, who is described as "the most liberal thinker in the first thousand years of Christian history," to John Dewey, the philosophic spokesman for twentieth century America, in whom "are consummated the empirical tendencies of former times."

The scope of the study is ambitious, possibly a little too ambitious. For not only is the reader supplied with biographical sketches of the big seven—Origen, Erasmus, Voltaire, Paine, Parker, Darwin, and Dewey—and with critical summaries of their contributions to liberalism, but accounts of numerous others who helped or hindered the leaders in their pioneering labors are crowded into these three hundred pages. A certain looseness of treatment is consequently inevitable, and this results here and there in errors of interpretation of a serious nature.

It would be difficult to show, for example, that although technically speaking Voltaire "was not a philosopher, yet he is France's greatest philosopher, chiefly because he *was* the eighteenth century" (p. 102); likewise of the assertion that more significant than Charles Darwin's scientific theories "was his personal attitude toward life," which is here declared to have been "a perfect embodiment of the liberal spirit." Darwin was not an economic or social liberal. Nor is it true that according to Dewey "The only Divinity is within" (p. 259), or that the key to Dewey's philosophical principles is "the radical empiricism of William James" (p. 258). Moreover, Dewey has never opposed man's desire for security; he has opposed the quest for *certainly* through the possession of conceptual immutables, not the search for *security* through the active control of the changing course of events. Mr. Bratton disregards this distinction.

Nevertheless, the argument, taken as a whole, seems to me essentially sound and the author's judgment singularly reliable. A helpful bibliography and an index are supplied. "Those who believe in democracy must," as Mr. Bratton says, "accept its risks, the risk of chaos, mediocrity in office, and anarchy" (p. 74). The risks would be greatly decreased if the reading public could be brought to study this good-spirited and lucidly written book.

University of Wisconsin

M. C. OTTO

THE CONTRIBUTION OF HOLLAND TO THE SCIENCES. A Symposium edited by *A. J. Barnouw* and *B. Landheer*. With an Introduction by *P. Debye*. (New York: Querido. 1943. Pp. xvii, 373. \$3.50.)

INTERPRETING the word "science" in the light of its etymology as a *wetenschap* (customary in the Netherlands), the editors of this symposium have divided the field of learning into a number of sections and selected scholars possessing first-hand acquaintance to describe Dutch scholarship. The book begins with a chapter on theology and is followed by twelve chapters on the humanities. Next come four chapters on the "exact sciences," including mathematics. The rest of the book is devoted to medicine, botany, and architecture. The reader will note certain omissions, such as zoology, archaeology, and technology. Each chapter appears to be competently executed; bold indeed would be the historian to comment on each with finality. Suffice it to say that here, within the restrictions placed upon the contributors, the English-speaking world possesses an adequate though brief account of the significant scientific achievements of the Dutch people.

The chapter on philosophy attempts to explain the peculiarities of Dutch intellectual character, which is strikingly different from that of their neighbors, particularly the Germans. The author correctly states that Netherlands have shown a practical attitude toward life, a reluctance to tenuous speculation, ever governed by sobriety. The reviewer, in trying to explain this sober practicality of the Dutch character, would point to the bourgeois history of Holland, without, however, wishing to imply that culture rises wholly out of the social milieu, which itself is a feature of culture. Here we face a most baffling aspect of man—why he is what he is and why he acts in the manner he does.

Possessed of a sober practicality (*nuchterheid* is the Dutch word aptly describing this trait), Dutch thought, however, does not care for pragmatism. Nor have great metaphysicians been produced in Holland. Those who qualify as such are foreigners, like Descartes, Spinoza, and Geulincx. Stating that no Dutch philosopher has drawn the serious attention of the outside world (the barrier of language here no doubt is a factor, as in the case of Bolland), the author calls attention to Erasmus, who was influential chiefly because he was a facile Humanist who emphasized practical morals and advocated philological study as a basis for ecclesiastical reform. But he was no philosopher, rather a satirist, frequently indulging in sweeping, even flippant, exaggerations. The reviewer would suggest that if foreigners are to be mentioned, why should the tradition of scholastic philosophy be ignored? William van Moerbeke, Henry of Ghent, and Ruysbroeck certainly deserve a place. Ignoring the scholastic tradition of medieval times is traditional; it springs from the antique dogma that the Middle Ages were barren of intellectual life. Failure to consider scholasticism results in the foreshortening of our historical understanding.

Theology, which possesses an ethical character and therefore exercises a practical influence, has been a prominent feature of Dutch intellectual life. A number

of theological movements have flourished: the traditional Catholic Christian culture, which the book scarcely notices; the very influential *Devotio Moderna*, which is part of this Catholic culture; Protestantism in its varied and frequently contradictory expressions; and, finally, the many forms that Modernism assumed, including the work of Cornelius Tiele, which is so important in the study of comparative religion. By what right is the Gronigen School, which rose early in the nineteenth century under German influences, particularly that of Lessing and Schleiermacher, here made to include divergent thinkers like Thomas à Kempis, Gansfort, and Erasmus? Surely the theology of Parreau, Van Oordt, and Hofstede de Groot, inspired partly by the philosopher Van Heusde, was quite different from that of Gansfort.

In the natural sciences Netherlands have shown themselves to be intelligent, painstaking, and successful. Here, too, subtle speculation has been eschewed, with the result that the Dutch scientist has had his feet firmly planted in reality whose secrets, as this volume shows, he believes nature will yield to honest and patient labor.

University of Washington

HENRY S. LUCAS

CIVILIZATION AND DISEASE. By *Henry E. Sigerist*, William H. Welch
Professor of the History of Medicine in the Johns Hopkins University. (Ithaca:
Cornell University Press. Pp. xi, 255. \$3.75.)

IN this book the author has published the Messenger Lectures, which he delivered at Cornell University in the academic year 1940-41. He has examined and studied the part that disease had in the evolution of civilization, starting from the idea that disease is a biological process and that when stimuli exceed in quantity or quality the adaptability of the organism, its reactions are no longer normal but abnormal or pathological. Disease is therefore the sum of abnormal reactions of the organs to abnormal stimuli. Disease affects, however, not only the life of the single individual but also that of the community and has, therefore, a decisive influence on the cultural life of all social groups. The author has treated the subject of the contacts and conflicts between disease and civilization from a biological and consequently a historical point of view. In fact, the development of culture is also a process of biological evolution of the collectivity, and just as the history of the individual is able to explain to us his present condition and permits us to look into the future, it is only with the study of the history of civilization and the influences it has felt or exercised that we can judge these reciprocal relations.

The attempt to overcome and conquer disease had an important role in many great historical epochs; sometimes disease has menaced and sometimes destroyed millions of human lives and has stopped the progress of civilization. Sometimes it has been prevented or healed, and many factors and many different currents of thought—magic, religion, philosophy, experimental science, and political events—have determined the evolution of medical thought.

Dr. Sigerist, having acquired not only a profound knowledge of medical history but also vast personal experience in contemporary history through his travels and sojourns in many different countries of the world, was able to examine, with deep comprehension and admirable erudition, which conditions have been and are favorable and which detrimental to the health of the individuals and the community. In each chapter of his book we find a fascinating survey of historical facts and a clear summary of the conclusion. The opinion of the author appears, therefore, always supported by accurately documented examples. The struggle of primitive man for food, clothing, and housing, the importance of occupation and social relations—factors which have always played a considerable role in health and disease—is the starting point for the history of the great famines, of malnutrition, and on the other hand of the dangers of hypernutrition. The changes of customs in the Middle Ages and in modern times and their effect on health and, finally, the problem of housing and its different solutions form one of the most remarkable chapters of this book. It is impossible to summarize every chapter singly, because in reality each one contains material for a large volume. If it were possible I should like to quote the pages on disease and economics which deal with the problem of socialization of medicine, with an interesting historical survey of the different systems, and the chapter about disease and social life, in which the history of the great epidemics is expounded from the social-biological point of view. The relations between disease and law, the liability of the physician, the collaboration of the psychiatrist in criminology, and the question of sterilization present original points of view.

In a series of other chapters Dr. Sigerist studies the reciprocal influences of disease and religion, disease and philosophy, disease and science, disease and literature, art, and music. What is most interesting in the book is the original and brilliant form in which the problems are posed. In an attractive presentation of the historical references Dr. Sigerist summarizes in short but effective pictures some terrible stories, like those of the epidemics of plague in the Middle Ages, of the great famines in India, of the misery of the poor classes at the time of the Industrial Revolution, and he is able to stress the evolution of the ideas in the continuity of historical conflicts.

The actual gains of science and civilization in the fight against disease, despite all obstacles, bring him, at the end of a beautiful book, to a conclusion that is all the more heartening to those who know the scientific and the moral integrity of the author: "The more I study history, the more faith I have in the future of mankind, and the less doubt of the ultimate result of the present conflict. . . . We may not see it, but our children or their children will. While we are struggling, the foundations are being laid for a new and better civilization."

Yale University

ARTURO CASTIGLIONI

Ancient and Medieval History

THE EXCAVATION OF TELL BEIT MIRSIM. Volume III, THE IRON AGE. By *William Foxwell Albright*. With a chapter by *James Leon Kelso* and *J. Palin Thorley*. [The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Volumes XXI-XXII, for 1941-43, edited for the trustees by Millar Burrows and E. A. Speiser.] (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research. 1943. Pp. xxvi, 229, plates 73. \$4.00.)

WITH this publication the work on Tell Beit Mirsim, probably biblical Kirjath-sepher, comes to a "temporary close." Four campaigns, 1926-32, were undertaken at the site, a provincial town on the edge of the Judean foothills, about eight miles from the city of Lachish. Probability of its identification with Kirjath-sepher is increased as a result of soundings made at the competing site of Tell Zaheriyeh. The latter proves to have been unoccupied from the end of the third millennium B.C. to the tenth century B.C., during which period Kirjath-sepher surely existed.

The primary concern of the volume is the Iron Age settlement at the site, the period of Israelite occupation. Nowhere else have so many well-preserved Israelite private houses been found. Artifacts excavated are not intrinsically rich but nevertheless are of great value in reflecting the simple provincial life in Judea of the Israelite period.

In the maze of strata marked by frequent traces of destruction the author reads the history of the place. Heavy ash deposits indicate a thorough burning of Town C during the last half of the thirteenth century B.C., when Israelites were conquering Judea. The site was at once reoccupied, making use of the ruins in the rebuilding. Unwalled Town B seems to have been a farming community, for much of the excavated area was occupied by grain pits and silos. Its phase ended with its partial destruction, presumably by the Philistines after the battle of Ebenezer (*ca.* 1050 B.C.). The town was walled, probably by King David, but was violently destroyed soon afterward, apparently by the invasion of Shishak (*ca.* 918 B.C.).

Recovery was slow, but Town A was finally established. The new houses show a marked change from those of Town B. In part this may be due to the rise of a local textile industry as early as the eighth century B.C., for stone pillars found within the houses may have been supports for looms. Scores of basketfuls of loom weights were excavated, and between twenty and forty plants for dyeing thread were discovered evenly distributed through the town. The new walls were erected, probably by Asa (914-874 B.C.). Town A reached its peak during the eighth century B.C., and a decline began with its partial destruction when Sennacherib invaded Judea in 701 B.C. Destruction of part of the fortifications may have been accomplished by Nebuchadnezzar's general in 598 B.C., and the town was finally violently destroyed and burned about 589 B.C.

Besides a full treatment of the Iron Age towns, the book contains a complete index to the four volumes now published about the site and a unique and scholarly technical study by J. L. Kelso and J. P. Thorley of the work of the potter in the Near East, with special reference to the ceramics of Tell Beit Mirsim.

The author is an eminent archaeologist. The book is well written and its format is excellent. Photographs, plans, and indexes are generously presented to illustrate the text and facilitate reference. The work is of great value to the archaeologist and of considerable interest to historians of antiquity.

University of Chicago

RAYMOND A. BOWMAN

THE POLITICAL MEETING PLACES OF THE GREEKS. By *William A. McDonald*, Assistant Professor of Latin, Lehigh University. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, No. 34, edited by David M. Robinson.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1943. Pp. xix, 308. \$5.00.)

THE volumes of the "Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology" (edited and sometimes written by Professor D. M. Robinson) contain for the most part Johns Hopkins dissertations and the reports of the excavations at Olynthus; they testify to the activity and scholarship of Professor Robinson. The book under review, apparently an enlarged dissertation, is one of the best of the series. Its great value lies in the careful use made of the evidence (ancient texts, commentaries, and excavation reports), in the author's familiarity with most of the ancient sites under consideration, and above all in the fact that he was able to discuss his problems with all those scholars who were likely to be of help and assistance. McDonald's book is therefore not only an original contribution to Greek archaeology but also a manual that will be of great use at home both to students and to teachers of Greek civilization, and in the field to those who study the ancient sites as well as to the excavators themselves (see T. L. Shoe, *Classical Weekly*, XXXVII [1943], 69).

The two introductory chapters deal with "Crete in the Minoan Period" and with "Mainland Greece in Post-Homeric Times." Because of the scarcity of the evidence and the autocratic character of political life in this early period, these two chapters merely provide an obscure setting for the miracle play of Greek democracy.

The main bulk of the book contains a discussion of "Post-Homeric Times" and is divided into three chapters. The first deals with the "City Assemblies," the meetings of the entire citizenry normally held in the open; the second contains an account of the "Federal Leagues," the meetings of the international organizations; the third is concerned with the "City Councils," the meetings of select bodies of representatives. "Literary and Epigraphical Evidence" is treated separately from "The Extant Meeting Places," and the same problems are therefore occasionally discussed twice. Yet the manual character of the book probably made this arrangement advisable. Within the chapters the material is presented in topographical

order, a large space naturally being taken up by the discussion of the political meeting places of the Athenians. It is here that the thoroughness and reliability of McDonald's treatment (especially of the epigraphical evidence) can best be tested, for the evidence is extensive and for the most part well known.

American readers will notice with pride that the discussion of Athens is largely (if not exclusively) based on archaeological and epigraphical studies conducted within the last fifteen years by American scholars and especially by members of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and of the staff of the American Excavations in the Athenian Agora (Homer Thompson's article, mentioned on p. 80, note 142, appeared in *Hesperia*, XII [1943], 269-301).

McDonald's book, more than any other recent publication, calls to our mind the great progress that has been made in the understanding of the working of the Athenian democracy. In 1816 Jefferson could write to Isaac H. Tiffany:

It seems not to have occurred [to the Greeks] that where the citizens cannot meet to transact their business in person, they alone have the right to choose the agents who shall transact it. . . . The full experiment of a government democratical, but representative, was and is still reserved for us. . . . The introduction of this new principle of representative democracy has rendered useless almost everything written before on the structure of government.

If Jefferson could write today, his statements would undoubtedly be more modest.

It is interesting to notice, for instance, that the Athenian assembly met at different places: the normal sessions were held on the Pnyx, but regular sessions were also held in the Piraeus and, at least once a year, in the theater of Dionysus. It is clear that the assembly which met in the theater, immediately after the Greater Dionysia, was held then and there because many citizens who lived at a distance from Athens and did not attend the regular sessions would be present in the city at the time of the festival and could subsequently take part in the assembly. This desire not to restrict the control of the political life to the urban population of Athens is emphasized, moreover, by the meetings held in the most populous district outside the city, the harbor of Piraeus. McDonald has shown that the assembly (and the council) held regular meetings in the Piraeus, and these meetings did not always concern themselves with matters pertaining to the harbor and to the navy. The conclusion must be drawn that the assembly met once in every prytany (that is, roughly speaking, once every month) in the Piraeus in order to give the people living in the harbor area an opportunity to participate in the political life.

The council of Athens cannot be compared with any modern political body, since its members had no legislative power and since they were selected by lot. Yet it may be stated that the lot by which most Athenian magistrates were elected was a far more representative principle of selection than is generally assumed. The carefully supervised, locally conducted scrutiny of the candidates made sure that only those well qualified would be admitted to the allotment, and the hazard of the lot prevented the rise of pressure groups of all kinds. It is true that the lot also

prevented the rise of political parties, but the character of the Athenian council as a kind of steering committee made the existence of parties within this committee unnecessary, if not undesirable (see McDonald's note in *Classical Weekly*, XXXVIII [1944], 167-68).

The preceding remarks were encouraged by McDonald's opening observation that "a study of the political meeting places of the Greeks should include some account of the nature and development of the political bodies themselves." To restrict the discussion to the treatment of architecture and topography would be just as unsatisfactory as to confine a study of American democracy to a collection of the various buildings in which our representatives and delegates meet, or to attempt an understanding of Christianity on the basis of preserved churches and chapels. This is not meant as a criticism of McDonald's excellent book. He has given us for the first time a comprehensive and detailed description of the house in which democracy was born and nurtured.

Yale University

ANTONY E. RAUBITSCHKE

BEDAE OPERA DE TEMPORIBUS. Edited by *Charles W. Jones*, Cornell University. [The Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication No. 41.] (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1943. Pp. xiv, 416.)

DR. JONES's book offers the first critical edition of Bede's extant computistical works. This is preceded by a comprehensive discussion of the evolution of paschal reckoning from the early Christian centuries to the times of Bede and followed by extensive notes on the sources and character of his knowledge and teaching. All three parts of the book owe their exceptional value to the editor's prolonged and intensive study of a stupendous body of manuscript material, as well as to his mastery of innumerable thorny problems posed by this material and raised by the existing literature. Whether he is right or not in all his decisions regarding textual readings and historical or computistical problems, there is no question that a substantial contribution to knowledge has been made.

Bede's *De Temporibus*, *De Temporum Ratione*, *Epistola ad Wicthedum*, and *Epistola ad Plegwinam* have hitherto been available in the editions of Giles, whence the reprints in *Patrologia Latina* were derived. Giles had little knowledge of manuscripts and less inclination to use them but took his texts practically unaltered from unreliable sixteenth and seventeenth century prints. By contrast, Jones lists 133 manuscripts of *DTR*, sixty-seven of *DT*, thirty-two of *Ad Wicthedum*, and four of *Ad Plegwinam*. He has examined the great majority of the manuscripts and collated a sufficient number to establish authentic texts. Only one manuscript of *DTR* and none of *DT* is of pre-Conquest English provenience, all the best early manuscripts being Continental. Because of the peculiar interest attaching to the Anglo-Saxon tradition of Bede, the editor might, perhaps, have searched English *computi* for fragmentary copies of these works. A few such

excerpts from *DT* and *DTR* in English manuscripts of *saec.* XI (early) and XII are noted in *Anglia* (LVIII [1934], 314, note 4), but they may derive from French exemplars brought to England during the Monastic reform. Jones's editions surpass the earlier ones not only in an incomparably greater accuracy of the texts but also in the very careful listing of sources and identification of quotations at the foot of every page. Adding these references was in itself a task requiring much labor and learning. It is much to be regretted that cost of publication precluded reproduction of all but a few of the tables which Bede included as part of his *DTR* and which are essential to a full understanding of his text.

The introduction and much of the controversial argument in it are based on two principles: uniformity of Easter observances imposed by Rome on the Latin world, which earlier scholars have supposed, must be doubted; and much evidence for varying national and local observances hitherto unused must be considered. Armed with these principles, Jones is able to prove, for example, that of five "Irish forgeries" three are genuine works; that the Cyrillan Easter-table does constitute the first attempt to adapt the Alexandrian Easter reckoning to the Julian calendar; that this table was used by the church of Milan and spread to Gaul and Africa; that the "lost" Sirmond manuscript is preserved as *Bodley 309*; and that Columban represented the older and losing faction of two Irish schools of computists. The less initiated reader would have been assisted in finding his way through the maze of early medieval Easter observances if Jones had prefaced his discussion by a conspectus showing the main characteristics of all the schools he considers: what lunar limits, Easter (date) limits, date of equinox, type of lunar cycle, and method of numbering years each one adhered to. Such a synopsis, if it also noted the approximate periods during which each system was in vogue, would make it easier to follow Jones's arguments as to how the systems traveled and when and where they overlapped or clashed.

Jones's greatest contribution to an understanding of Bede's treatises themselves is his demonstration that both *DT* and *DTR* were written as commentaries or elucidations of a *computus*, i.e., a book containing a calendar, tables, rules, and short tracts dealing with computation in general and the reckoning of Easter in particular; that such *computi* were first gathered together in Spain, partly from material acquired from Africa; that they traveled to Ireland and were there augmented and modified; and that not only Bede's but also the later Carolingian interest in computistical science was largely stimulated by Irish thought and traditions. The peculiar position of Bede, however, was that he distrusted his Irish sources, as indeed he had much reason to, and that he purified and corrected them as well as Isidore, his predecessor in the more general field of "science." His critical ability and balanced judgment were unrivaled in the earlier Middle Ages.

It is impossible within the limits of a review to do justice to the wealth and variety of subjects treated by Mr. Jones or to demonstrate adequately his erudition, acumen, and accuracy. But at least it should be emphasized that it is a tribute

and not a reproach that in so large a book the reviewer was able to find only some twenty errors.

Yale University

HEINRICH HENEL

A HISTORY OF DEEDS DONE BEYOND THE SEA. By *William, Archbishop of Tyre*. Translated and annotated by *Emily Atwater Babcock* and *A. C. Krey*. [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, Number XXXV.] Two volumes. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. xii, 556; 553. \$13.50.)

PROBABLY the most significant translation of any medieval source made in our generation, Babcock and Krey's *William of Tyre* offers an example of the excellent work in the field of translations produced under the editorship of Professor Austin P. Evans in the "Records of Civilization."

William of Tyre's history of the crusades has long been recognized as one of the great works of medieval historiography. The first translation thereof was made into French in the thirteenth century; from it Caxton in 1481 made the first and only previous English translation. And the good Caxton, for all his many virtues, lacked certain qualities that are considered essential by modern scholarship. Careful translation and accurate and authoritative documentation now make available a definitive English edition of this famous history.

Archbishop William spent some seventeen years writing his history. Professor Krey has spent more than twenty in studying William, his works, and the society in which he lived. The results of these years of study are to be found in the introduction and notes to the present work. Unfortunately the limitations of space and the cost of producing such a long work, which necessitated the reduction to a minimum of the footnotes, deprived us of much that Professor Krey might have said about the crusades and the kingdom of Jerusalem, but nothing has been omitted that throws any light on the person or work of the archbishop-historian himself. Every quotation employed by William has been carefully identified, thus revealing William's familiarity with both sacred and profane literature; every point that illustrates any quality or tendency in William's writings or scholarship is emphasized. The one major defect in William's history is a certain carelessness in chronological details; Professor Krey has corroborated or corrected every date given. It is evident that Krey was far more interested in chronology than geography, and his concern for geography far exceeds that for genealogy. In the opinion of the present reviewer the work suffers from the lack of genealogical tables which would explain the sometimes complicated relationships mentioned in the text, and it is extremely unfortunate that the two maps which are included in the two volumes should be so small and general that they show only the more obvious places, leaving the reader in doubt as to the exact location and present identity of many of the more obscure places referred to by William. In the enforced absence of footnotes identifying personal and geographical names mentioned in the

text, genealogical tables and more detailed maps would have been useful. A section in the introduction explaining the complicated political situation in the Moslem world at the time of the First Crusade would also have been a useful addition to the critical apparatus of the work.

In the introduction Professor Krey establishes the chronology of William's life and writings and estimates the historical qualities of his work. While some of his claims for William's objectivity and lack of prejudice may seem a bit over-enthusiastic in view of the archbishop's marked clerical bias, his partisanship for Daimbert and his animosity toward Arnulf of Chocques and the Templars, they are well borne out by his restraint in describing such events as the elevation of Heraclius to the patriarchate. If William is too much of a cleric to forego the opinion that God gave victory to the weak to demonstrate His omnipotence (II, 434), he is enough of a critical historian to estimate and evaluate the causes of strength and weakness in the kingdom in a thoroughly modern manner (II, 406-408). And if he occasionally becomes confused in the names of some of the chief Moslem leaders, his knowledge of the Moslem world compares most favorably with that of the Christian evidenced by the best Arab historians. There is, moreover, in his narrative a refreshing lack of unending detail about battles.

The translation is readably free but at the same time gives an extremely faithful rendition of the original. The translation of *frivolas* as "worthless" and *interpretes* as "interpreters," rather than "intermediaries" or "emissaries" (II, 77, 79), is open to question, especially since in the latter case the agents operating between two Frankish principals would hardly be interpreters. But such criticism can be made of any translation, and the present is on the whole a most excellent text, and due credit should be given Mrs. Babcock for her long and exacting labors in producing it. The question whether Elinand of Tiberias might have been a cleric (II, 142, note 11) could have been readily solved by reference to H. Pirie-Gordon's "Reigning Princes of Galilee" (*English Historical Review*, XXVII [1912], 452), where Elinand is clearly shown to have been not only prince of Galilee in the period around 1142-48 but also the nephew of William de Buris and the father of that Eschive who took the principality to her husband, Walter de St. Omer.

In such a lengthy work it would be exceptional if there were not here and there some minor point on which a reviewer could seize for criticism, and the remarkable thing is that there are in these two long volumes so amazingly few. The physical format of the books is attractive, and this reviewer failed to find a single misprint in the 1,021 pages of the two volumes. The index is comprehensive, though unfortunately based on given rather than on family names.

The work is one which must appeal to all medievalists and will be especially cherished by teachers of medieval history who can at long last refer their students to this most interesting and important contemporary history of the crusades and the kingdom of Jerusalem.

University of Pennsylvania

JOHN L. LAMONTE

THE DEVIL AND THE JEWS: THE MEDIEVAL CONCEPTION OF THE JEW AND ITS RELATION TO MODERN ANTISEMITISM. By *Joshua Trachtenberg*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1943. Pp. xiv, 279. \$3.50.)

THE timeliness of this book need not be stressed. Absurdly vile prejudices and abysmally ignorant beliefs about the Jews are so obviously a curse of our own time that one's first reaction to a book which points to the remoter origins of anti-Semitism is to wish it had not been written. It makes the medievalist particularly unhappy to be reminded of the black side of a civilization which he would like to remember only for the greatness of its positive contributions to the modern world. But if it is an unpleasant subject it is nonetheless an important one; for it is recurrently necessary to try, however vainly, to eradicate prejudices by showing how deeply they are rooted not in the healthy soil but in the maggot-crawling dung of the past. Yet at the same time one must not forget what roots the fertile soil nourished.

Mr. Trachtenberg shows how the Nordic-Rosenberg-Hitler propaganda arose in the medieval conception of the Jew and persisted in steady continuity, especially in the lower ranks of the Christian laity and clergy, through the early modern period down to the present. True, the papacy officially urged toleration upon *Christendom* (though the ultimate responsibility for the evil, the author thinks, lay with the official church); but chiefly from the time of the crusade, prompted by priests and on occasion by princes, the people as a whole came to believe that the Jews were children of the devil and followers of Antichrist; that they practiced the ugliest sorcery and magic; that they poisoned Christians and, of course, caused the Black Death; that they loved to desecrate the Host; that for their devilish ritual they engaged in murder and required the blood of Christian children; and that they were an ever-ready "fifth column," betraying Visigothic Spain to the Moors, Russia to the Mongols, Spain again to the Moors in the sixteenth century, the empire to the Turks, and Germany to the Allies and communism. No matter that Christians were as superstitious as they said the Jews were, no matter that Christians practiced magic and were frequently guilty of usury, nonetheless they eagerly accused the Jews of all these things and more. Mr. Trachtenberg finds that while individual Jews sometimes bought and sold slaves (he could have found many a Christian parallel) and practiced usury, the accusation of magic, sorcery, and witchcraft was almost totally unjustified—and no doubt he is right.

All this is familiar to most historians. The justification I find in the work is that it might jolt readers either out of their complacency or out of their prejudices. It is doubtful that any number of such books will ever triumph over what too many people wish to believe in this century of troubles.

But what is the value of this book on the scholarly side? By and large it is no original contribution to knowledge; it is based on modern works, but on many sound ones. While this is adequate in a work of popularization, I am not alto-

gether content that the author most frequently quotes documents from secondary works. An occasional inconsistency appears: E. B. Osborn is quoted (p. 14), with approbation, as saying that "The medieval mind was ready to believe anything and everything—especially if there were any kind of written evidence for it"; on page 18, with equal approbation, Cecil Roth, that "the medieval mind was as keen, as logical and as eminently reasonable as is ours." The Jewish profanation of the Host is connected (p. 109) with the official establishment of the doctrine of transubstantiation in 1215, but a story is then told (p. 111) about an attempted profanation in the tenth century. As for omissions, I find no discussion of the rationale of toleration offered by the theologians of the thirteenth century. To examples of Christian prejudices could be added a famous one from the twelfth century: Peter the Venerable held it against the Jews that in Spain their sacred books were copied on filthy rags—one of the earliest references to the appearance of paper in the West! The causes of the development of hatred toward the Jews are not satisfactorily developed. Finally, there is perhaps a little too much obvious irony at the expense of Christians, given the nature of their own political, economic, and social problems; and certain popes' efforts to protect the Jews deserve as much credit as Frederick II's commission, which exculpated the Jews from the guilt of using Christian blood. Moreover, as Professor Oskar Hagen reminds me, the thirteenth century statue of *Synagoga* at Strasbourg offers no maligning or caricature: the Jewish church is represented as beautiful, sensitive, graceful, and dignified. But on the whole Mr. Trachtenberg successfully proves his thesis—not a difficult thing, after all, to do.

University of Wisconsin

GAINES POST

FRANCISCAN PAPERS, LISTS, AND DOCUMENTS. By *A. G. Little*. [Publications of the University of Manchester, No. CCLXXXIV, Historical Series No. LXXXI.] (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1943. Pp. xiii, 262. 21s.)

FOR fifty years the name A. G. Little has been associated with English Franciscan scholarship. These have been fruitful decades devoted to the research for documents, the editing of source texts, and the writing of books, articles, and papers. In the range of subjects treated have been studies of the Oxford Franciscans; critical editions of the works of Eccleston, Bacon, and Pecham; reports on recently discovered Franciscan documents; and a comprehensive series of essays on the mendicants and medieval life.

The present work comprises virtually no new materials. It is offered in substitution for the author's earlier plan to supply a new edition of the *Studies in English Franciscan History*. Its limitations and its values consist in the fact that a series of highly useful but scattered papers are here brought together in accessible form. Those selected, somewhat arbitrarily but with a rare sense of representivity and unity, were originally produced for a variety of specific oc-

casions, mainly from 1920 to 1930. The result is a collection curiously typical of the manner in which Dr. Little habitually focuses the unifying relationship of things great and small. Each of the papers exhibits his characteristic attention to meticulous detail, his charming introduction of translated portions of the sources at just the opportune time, and his uncompromising insistence on careful documentation.

The introductory paper is a fitting commemoration of Francis' seventh centenary. One of the most pertinent and enjoyable writings is a comparative study of Franciscan and Dominican chroniclers. Dr. Little's continuing preoccupation with the problems of learning is shown by his inclusion of a paper on the Franciscan School at Oxford (one of his best) and of another on the Minorite role in the founding of the Faculty of Theology at Cambridge. There is also a well-balanced résumé on Roger Bacon and Bacon scholarship. The last of the papers is a mellowed recounting of the gentle ways and beautiful genius of Paul Sabatier, with a discriminating evaluation of his contribution to Franciscan studies.

The lists "have been selected as giving a necessary framework for a history of the English Franciscans." Here, painstakingly assembled, are the names and data associated with provincial ministers, provincial chapters, and custodies and houses in the Franciscan province of England.

The documents, now presented for the first time, are chosen with an eye to illustrating activities not elsewhere treated in the collection. Episcopal licenses to hear confession and a fifteenth century sermon, "written in Latin with an admixture of English," make up this section of the work.

The present reviewer is deeply grateful for this book. Other readers who have learned the measure of Dr. Little's leadership will also welcome this convenient, indexed edition of invaluable but hitherto unco-ordinated studies.

Duke University

R. C. PETRY

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH FEUDAL BARONY.

By *Sidney Painter*. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXI, Number 3.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1943. Pp. 211, xiv. \$2.00.)

THE English feudal barony is a difficult subject, and any new light upon it is sure to be welcomed. Professor Painter treats it both from the viewpoint of baronial financial and administrative interests and from that of constitutional history. He agrees with M. Bloch that there is much to be said for a broad preliminary survey even if its conclusions must be tentative. Although he has used the Fine Rolls and Inquisitions post-mortem far more extensively than has been usual, Mr. Painter recognizes that source material is incomplete for many phases of the work. He has sometimes re-examined standard accounts to good effect, notably Round's reckoning of the Anglo-Norman baronies. A notable product of his research is an unusual

amount of data about individual barons and their holdings. Among the definite conclusions may be noted one to the effect that evidence of a forty-day term of military service is inconclusive. The king's rights over feudal marriages and the matter of disparagement are studied with exceptional thoroughness.

Marked changes in the constitutional position of the English barony of the twelfth century are evidenced by shifts in the levy of scutage and in the following century by a great reduction in quotas of feudal military service exacted by the crown. A countervailing measure, too little known, is found in an act of 1275 which supplements knights' fees with socage land, an important part of most baronies, as the basis for the levy of the two feudal aids of that day. The persistence of the usage is clearly shown in the collection of the aid of 1401 for the marriage of the daughter of Henry IV. The introduction from 1277 of paid military service changed a fundamental obligation of baronage to crown and laid the basis of the fourteenth century contract plan of service. The changes in the military system give the best vindication of Professor Painter's judgment that by 1350 baronies were no longer feudal.

It is much more difficult to agree with some of the interpretations based on his demonstration that the barons who attended the national assembly in the thirteenth century often were not tenants-in-chief in the older sense. The "*full curia regis*" is a conception hardly justified by recorded evidence. Even in the Norman and Angevin periods there is good reason to believe that the number qualified as barons was much in excess of that summoned by the king to attend his assembly. When Henry II reinforced the body on one notable occasion, he hardly went further than to call barons of the first rank. Moreover, the Magna Carta recognizes the necessity of taking up business when all those summoned do not attend. The fact that Edward I increased so decidedly the number of lay nobles summoned—from thirty-seven in 1283 to an average of eighty-three for his last nine parliaments, and on one occasion to ninety-eight—may be explained in the main by the evidence brought out by Professor Painter that into the company of tenants-in-chief *de corona* were introduced tenants of honors which had escheated to the crown. In preference to the theory that the rule laid down in the Magna Carta remained a "dead letter," insofar as the summons of the greater barons was concerned, may be set the view that it stated the usage of Henry II. The names of persons summoned to parliament in 1300 show a striking identity with those called to render military service, thus indicating that the service in both cases was still regarded fundamentally as resting on the obligation of tenants-in-chief to the crown. The view that Henry III summoned "whomsoever he would" is incautious, as well as the one that from this time on tenure by barony had no connection with summons to parliament. On the other hand, twice in the time of Edward II all lay nobles summoned to parliament, with the exception of the earls, are bracketed as *barones*, but this is the act of chancery clerks based apparently on precedent without regard for legal tests. The idea of hereditary

peerage seems to be emphasized when kings from Edward II on called a reduced number of lay nobles to parliament, thus creating a fixed expectancy of summons in the families of those who were still left on the chancery list.

The actual status of the parliamentary barons of the fifteenth century deserves closer examination than it has received. The last general feudal military summons was in 1327, yet feudal wardships and marriages, the source of a lucrative revenue of the crown, were abolished only in 1660. In the time of Henry VI, land still was held by knight service, but this might be merely the name of a fixed rental paid the crown. Homage to the king was systematically taken until 1460, as the Fine Rolls show, and feudal relief had not disappeared from records of the 1430's, although, so far as known, these are fragmentary. It is to be hoped that someday Professor Painter may attack this and other phases of a declining feudalism with as much success as that evinced in dealing with a much earlier time.

University of California

WILLIAM A. MORRIS

ESSAYS IN THE CONCILIAR EPOCH. By *E. F. Jacob*. [Tout Memorial Publication Fund, Publications of the University of Manchester, No. CCLXXXIII, Historical Series No. LXXX.] (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1943. Pp. viii, 192. 10s.6d.)

PROFESSOR Jacob deserves much credit for his ten admirable essays. They are well written and provided with adequate documentation. The subjects he has discussed reveal not so much a "waning of the Middle Ages" as a prelude to modern civilization. Refreshing is the study of conciliar thought, which has been eloquently analyzed in the first essay. Here we find that Gerson and his learned teacher, Pierre d'Ailly, prepared the way for modern democracy: "D'Ailly makes it clear that all office derives from the community, which has the right to elect its rulers." Particularly illuminating are the four essays on the English contributions to attempted reforms of the church. We are pleased to learn that Ockham did much more than Marsilius of Padua to "change people's views about the nature of the spiritual power and to shake the papal system at its very foundations." But the writer has not convinced us that Professor McIlwain was mistaken in his interpretation of Ockham's views on the right of laymen to interpret the Bible as they see fit (pp. 86-105). Another English author who deserves more than passing attention is Fortescue; his work on the law of Nature and the importance of local laws and customs is excellent (pp. 112-13).

The essay on the "Brethren of the Common Life" is delightful and evinces a true understanding of the *Devotio Moderna*, which is not widely found. The footnote on page 121, however, fails to mention the edition of all the letters by Gerard Groote in one volume, published by W. Mulder, formerly the rector of the Catholic University of Nijmegen. British scholarship is beginning at last to grasp the far-reaching influence of the two institutions founded by Groote. The second,

called the Congregation of Windesheim, has received proper attention in the fascinating article by G. G. Coulton in *Speculum* (XVIII [1943]); Coulton agrees with Jacob in regarding the *Devotio Moderna* as the outstanding religious revival of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Significant is the quotation from a work by a distinguished scholar whom Jacob unfortunately does not name:

It has been pointed out that the early Protestant reformers assumed that in the fifteenth century true devotion was found only among a few persecuted disciples of John Wyclif; and that "this misrepresentation of the century of the *Imitatio Christi* has persisted and obscured the whole history of English prose."

Jacob argues correctly that the *Imitation of Christ* must be looked upon as the gospel of the *Devotio Moderna* and that the medieval epoch closed with a tremendous outburst of religious fervor. His interpretation of Cusa's work is also very useful.

University of Michigan

ALBERT HYMA

Modern European History

BRITISH BOROUGH CHARTERS, 1307-1660. Edited by *Martin Weinbaum*, Assistant Professor of History, Central Y.M.C.A. College, Chicago, Illinois. (Cambridge: at the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1943. Pp. lxvii, 241. \$5.00.)

In 1913 Adolphus Ballard published a volume entitled *British Borough Charters, 1042-1216*—a volume which, in spite of all its merits, has tended to drive insane an increasing number of conscientious students. In Ballard's edition every charter was chopped into as many fragments as suited his arbitrary plan of arrangement. To find the contents of a single document, accordingly, one has to obtain from a table a cabbalistic series of letters and numerals and then refer to as many scattered sections and subsections. And the same plan, with mild editorial misgivings, was followed by Mr. Tait in the second volume, *British Borough Charters, 1216-1307*, which was published in 1923.

In this third volume, very happily, Mr. Weinbaum has discarded the earlier plan in favor of another. The charters from 1307 to 1660 are individually calendared—county by county for England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. An analytical index summarizes their contents according to the system adopted for the preceding volumes. The improvement, to which the editor was driven by utter despair of the Ballard-Tait arrangement, is obvious. One may now find in a single paragraph, chronologically listed, the citation of a particular charter and a brief statement of its provisions. If quotation of the original Latin and a translation had been needed, they could easily have been supplied; but in this latter

period the exact phraseology of a royal grant becomes a matter of secondary importance.

As to the scope of the present volume, it was brought down to the year 1660 because, Mr. Weinbaum points out, the Restoration coincides "with the broadening influence on municipal history of state legislation," and by then "borough charters as such have reached the true end of their historical career." Once more the list of chartered towns is appreciably lengthened by the traditional method of giving to new communities the established privileges of old ones. Besides, the great majority of charters to the more ancient boroughs merely confirm or extend such liberties as many of them had already enjoyed. The result, to quote the editor, was "a concentration and intensification [of rights], with the universal acceptance in the end of the corporate and free borough as their constitutional framework and the charter of incorporation as the most comprehensive statement of all attainable privileges."

Lack of space prevents adequate discussion of the subject here. For a clear exposition of municipal development in the British Isles during the later Middle Ages, the interested reader must turn to Mr. Weinbaum's own introduction, as well as to his little book on *The Incorporation of Boroughs* (Manchester, 1937).

Cornell University

CARL STEPHENSON

THE RUSSIAN FUR TRADE, 1550-1700. By *Raymond H. Fisher*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume XXXI.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1943. Pp. xi, 275. \$3.00.)

A CHARACTERISTIC change has taken place recently in the approach of the students of both Spanish and Russian colonial administration to their task. The traditional attitude in that field overemphasized the negative aspects of the activities of the Spaniards in America and the Russians in Siberia, so that in the presentation of each case the historians seemed to have had no other objective than to record all the deeds of greed and cruelty and to furnish the reader with proper moral lessons. Recently, however, there has been a tendency to study the problems of the colonial administration with less bias and more understanding, to examine in detail economic institutions and administrative methods in both their scope and content. The soundness of the new approach is self-evident. It is represented, in the field of Spanish colonial administration, by such works as Lesley Byrd Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain* (1929), and George A. Kubler, "Population Movements in Mexico," *Hispanic American Historical Review* (November, 1942); and in the field of Russian colonial administration by two recent monographs by Professor Robert J. Kerner's students: George V. Lantzeff, *Siberia in the Seventeenth Century*, and Raymond H. Fisher, *The Russian Fur Trade* (both published in 1943). The last of the two books on Siberia is the subject of the present review, but, as they supplement each other, the reader interested in the field is advised to read both of them.

Dr. Fisher opens his book with a brief survey of the early Russian fur trade, after which he gives a clear outline of the role of furs in the opening of Siberia as well as in its conquest; this is followed by a chapter on the "Acquisition of Furs by the Muscovite State." The next two chapters deal with the "Preservation of the State's Fur Trade" and the "Depletion of the Supply of Fur-bearing Animals." He discusses, in what is the very core of the book, the "Fur Income of the State" and "Disposal of Furs by the State." Chapter ix deals with "Private Trade in Furs," and chapters x and xi with "Exports of Furs"—to Europe and Asia, respectively. The last chapter, "The Importance of the Russian Fur Trade," is a general conclusion. An excellent bibliography adds much to the value of the book.

As may be seen from this summary of the contents, Dr. Fisher's monograph is well planned. It is based upon the author's exhaustive knowledge of both printed source material and secondary works, used, in most cases, with sound discrimination and excellent judgment. It is in a sense a pioneering enterprise, since no systematic study of the Russian fur trade of such scope and comprehensiveness has been thus far available in any language. Although the book is full of statistics and factual data, the material is so well organized and presented and the place of the fur trade in the history both of Russia and of the outside world so clearly outlined that it makes fascinating reading. In the author's words, "America filled Spain's galleons with Gold and Silver; India furnished England's merchants with a vast and wealthy market. Siberia offered Russia neither of these. Siberia's greatest resource was its abundant sables, among the finest furs in the world" (p. 17). One may take exception to the author's statement that Siberia offered Russia no precious metals; such a statement is too categorical. In another passage (p. 25) Dr. Fisher himself mentions silver mines exploited by Stroganovs, "the Fuggers of Russia." It is true, however, that in this period Siberian metals played a very minor role as an incentive for colonization. In a general way, then, Dr. Fisher is quite right when he says that "furs were the Russian equivalent of the mercantilist 'gold fund'" (p. 233). Also, "furs were Russia's greatest export in the sixteenth and the seventeenth century" (p. 232).

Sociologically, the outstanding role of the state in the Russian fur trade was one of its most important features. "The state not only participated in the fur trade, but was also the biggest operator in the trade" (p. 48). While Dr. Fisher's statement that "no distinction existed between the tsar as ruler and the tsar as merchant" is again too categorical and cannot be accepted without reservations, admittedly "the tsar was himself an enterpriser, indeed the greatest in Russia" (p. 48). Irrespective of the role of the tsar, the section of the treasury that handled furs and fur trade may be considered, in a sense, as a precursor of the commissariat of foreign trade of the Soviet Union; in any case, from the historical point of view, there was much similarity in the function of the two institutions. "The state obtained its furs in three distinct ways—in the form of tribute or *iasak* from the natives; as a tithe imposed on the Russian *promyshlenniks* [hunters and trappers] and traders; and by purchase" (p. 49).

The technique of acquisition as well as the general organization of state machinery in handling the fur business is lucidly described by Dr. Fisher. In a way, it was a model organization, and perhaps one of its most remarkable features was the state's leniency and restraint in regard to the Siberian natives. As Dr. Fisher puts it, the state "was guided in its stipulations by enlightened self-interest" (p. 74). Of course, the state was not always able to control the activities of its own agents on the spot, which somewhat undermined the validity of the system and on many occasions marred the good intentions of the Muscovite rulers. While attaching great importance to the fur trade, Dr. Fisher disputes the usually accepted figures derived from the estimate of a seventeenth century writer, Kotoshikhin, as being set too high. Extracting his data from local reports and tabulating them, Dr. Fisher comes to the conclusion that the highest value of the annual fur income in the seventeenth century was 125,000 rubles, as against the figure 600,000 given by Kotoshikhin.

It is not only the state which profited from the fur trade. In the first half of the seventeenth century, private traders and *promyshlenniki* carried out of Siberia through the Mangazeia region alone more furs than the state obtained from all of Siberia (p. 179). It is obvious that the development of the fur trade resulted in considerable strengthening of the Russian commercial class (p. 147); and, incidentally, that class was never as weak as Dr. Fisher suggests it was. While Dr. Fisher's treatment of his main subject—the Siberian fur output—is fundamentally sound and competent, his first chapter, "The Early Russian Fur Trade," where the author depended not on his own research but on the secondary literature, is open to criticism on many points. To refer the decline of the commercial state of Kiev and the shift, in Russia, "from an exchange economy to agricultural economy—and to concomitant feudalism"—to refer all that to "the exhaustion of the fur resources of the forest regions of the Dnieper river basin" (pp. 2, 3) as its main cause, is to exaggerate unduly the role of a factor which was but one of the minor contributing causes of the change.

Yale University

GEORGE VERNADSKY

ENGLAND'S ROAD TO SOCIAL SECURITY, FROM THE STATUTE OF LABORERS IN 1349 TO THE BEVERIDGE REPORT OF 1942. By *Karl de Schweinitz*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1943. Pp. x, 281. \$3.00.)

THIS volume is designed to be of value to administrators of social security, to college students in sociology, political science, and economics, and to those who seek a deeper understanding of the past than is found in political history. Even the advanced student of social and economic history will find it a convenient reference book.

There is one implication embodied in the work to which some exception may well be taken. It is said that for over six hundred years England has been trying

to solve the problem of insecurity for her people, and because of this "unique and consistent effort" the experience of England forms a valuable blueprint on social planning for the world of the future. The assumption of the author seems to be that the story since 1349 is a continuous development in the direction of providing a satisfactory economic basis of life for the masses. Yet the facts as they are presented in that part of the book dealing with the period before the present century show that for more than five hundred years after 1349 the efforts of the government tended to repress and not to redeem the masses. Such social security as there was, was concerned with finding the delicate balance which would enable the "poor" to keep body and soul together without subjecting the upper classes to the burdens of higher wages, shorter hours, or heavy taxes. I take it that this is contrary to the modern concept of social security, which envisages the maintenance of a standard of comfort at a level considerably above the minimum requirements of subsistence, with little regard for expense. The newer policy came late in the six-hundred-year period under discussion, as a compound of pietism, positivism, socialism, the depression of 1873-86, "universal" suffrage, the appearance of the Labor party, and the desire of statesmen to do something to stay in office.

Nevertheless, this is an interesting and important book. It puts together a lot of English social legislation and endeavors to get at the factors responsible for current policies. The underlying social philosophy of each period is brought out, and rather uniquely Dr. de Schweinitz ties in from time to time the contemporary Continental ideas about pauperism and its remedy. Vives' essay on the relief of the poor is noticed, as are the Hamburg and Munich systems of poor relief of the eighteenth century. There are excellent chapters on the social insurance program of the early twentieth century and on the public assistance board of the 1930's. The volume concludes with an enthusiastic summary of the Beveridge report. In a subsequent reprint, occasional errors, such as the reference to Ridley as archbishop of Canterbury and the designation of the Ordinance of Labourers of 1349 as the "Statute of Laborers" (which did not come until 1351), should be corrected. There is a unique system of footnote citation which seekers after new things may find interesting.

University of Illinois

F. C. DIETZ

JOHN AMOS COMENIUS: THAT INCOMPARABLE MORAVIAN. By *Matthew Spinka*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1943. Pp. ix, 177. \$2.00.)

THIS scholarly and carefully documented account of the life, dominant interests, and work of Comenius, published to commemorate the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his birth, presents the reader with a wealth of information and especially insight not found in earlier biographies of the "incomparable Moravian."

The quality and scope of this small volume reflect Professor Spinka's breadth of intellectual, social, and spiritual interests, his sensitivity to historical values, and his unique fitness for the task to which he set himself. Born and educated prior to his fifteenth year in Czechoslovakia, he selected as the subject of his doctor's thesis at the University of Chicago the "Irenic Program of Comenius"; later he translated two of Comenius' works: *The Bequest of the Unity of Brethren* (1940) and *The Labyrinth of the World* (1942).

Professor Spinka is the first biographer to use the entire preserved fragment of Comenius' autobiography. Instead of confining himself, as most previous biographers have done, to the efforts of Comenius in the fields of pansophy and educational reform, Professor Spinka portrays Comenius' burning interest not only in these two causes but in the third dominant purpose of his life, the unification of all Christian sects, Catholic as well as Protestant.

An introductory chapter presenting the political and sectarian conditions, "On the Eve of the Thirty Years' War," is followed by an account of Comenius' parentage, childhood, youth, education, his ordination as a priest of the Unity of Brethren, the series of overwhelming tragedies with which his life was beset, and his untiring efforts amid baffling conditions in behalf of the three great causes to which his life was dedicated.

Despite the breadth of treatment there is no neglect of Comenius' contribution to the philosophy and reform of education. The many men of influence, rulers and statesmen, who sought his advice and implored him to undertake the reform of schools in their respective jurisdictions are convincing evidence of the recognition Comenius gained in his own time and of the influence he wielded. Professor Spinka makes clear that the educational and spiritual vision of Comenius was equaled by his social vision. Just as the proposal for an ecumenical council of all Christian sects "was a forerunner of modern ecumenical conferences such as were held in Oxford and Edinburgh recently" (p. 100), his *Panegersia* is a forerunner of the "one-world" social philosophy now being promulgated and popularized.

The concluding chapter, "Footprints on the Sands of Time," summarizes the evidences of the recognition gained by the great Moravian in his own time and justifies considering him "the father of modern educational theory and practice" (p. 153), an evangel of Christian ecumenicity, a world citizen, and one of the "earliest advocates of the integrated scientific world-view" (p. 155).

University of California

FLETCHER HARPER SWIFT

THE WILTSHIRE WOOLLEN INDUSTRY IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES. By G. D. Ramsay, Fellow and Tutor of St. Edmund Hall. [Oxford Historical Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1943. Pp. 149. \$3.25.)

DETAILED studies of particular industries or regions in the middle period of English economic history have long been needed, if only to substantiate the daring

generalizations of Ashley, Cunningham, and the other pioneers. George Unwin led the way, and Professor Herbert Heaton provided the model some twenty years ago in his study of the Yorkshire woollen industry. To help fill the gap, Mr. Ramsay contributes an excellent study of that section of the west country woollen industry which was concentrated in Wiltshire. The location of the industry in the valleys from Malmesbury down around the plain to Salisbury, the changes in techniques, product, and organization during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and its vicissitudes amid the confusion of government regulation, foreign policy, economic distress, and civil war are all considered.

In degree and extent the structure of the west-country industry often differed from practice elsewhere, and Mr. Ramsay's ingenious search for possible sources has made clear some very interesting relationships of the industry and its membership to the general life of the times. In organization the extension of manufacture and markets increased the variety and influence of the middlemen involved. The wool broggers of the sixteenth century were joined in the next century by the market spinners, while the clothiers always tended to dominate the trade. Some of the latter, Stumpe, Kynge, and Hedges, become creatures of flesh and blood as Mr. Ramsay cleverly reconstructs their lives and times, their conflicts not only with their own workfolk but also with the landed families of the county who begrudged them the social and political position their economic importance deserved.

The relationship of the industry to the government follows a revealing pattern. Tudor regulation, based on aulnage and apprenticeship, grew slack in the early seventeenth century, partly as a result of squabbling between crown and parliament and partly because the great motive force behind the maintenance of such regulations, the Merchant Adventurers, was losing its power. The personal government of Charles I effected an interesting but brief revival of government supervision, but the coming of industrial laissez-faire could not long be denied.

The course of the trade's prosperity is remarkable not so much for the Tudor golden age of broadcloth manufacture, the mid-century depression, and the subsequent revival early in the seventeenth century but rather for the modest recovery of the Wiltshire cloth industry after the disaster of the Cockayne experiment and the great depression of the 1620's. Other less fortunate clothing counties were unable to discover new products or new markets to effect this recovery.

In its wealth of detail such an intense examination of a local industry is both a mine and an inspiration for all students of economic history. Since the war interrupted the publication if not the composition of the book, it would be unfair to tax Mr. Ramsay with any lacunae in the work. Yet this reviewer cannot allow to pass unanswered an attitude of mind expressed by Mr. Ramsay which seems most unfortunate. In several places (notably pp. 100-101) the author admits that large national movements in politics and foreign policy directly influenced the Wiltshire industry but then proceeds to dissociate himself from "any considera-

tion" of them as "outside the range of the local historian." In point of fact Mr. Ramsay has frequently and cogently related these larger movements to his local industry, and surely, if this basic purpose of the monograph is forsworn, local history becomes mere antiquarianism.

Yale University

T. C. MENDENHALL

THE DUKE: BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF ARTHUR WELLESLEY, 1ST DUKE OF WELLINGTON. By *Richard Aldington*. (New York: Viking Press. 1943. Pp. vi, 405. \$3.75.)

"THE most interesting object I have ever seen in my life," is how his ancient critic Mr. Creevey summed up *The Iron Duke*. The latest biography of Wellington converts all readers into Creeveys.

The public—and the publishers—would rejoice if historians generally would write as entertainingly as Mr. Aldington. Yet charm must not be sought at the expense of exactitude. A historian could not afford to say, as Mr. Aldington says (p. 126), that "It is a fact that Sir Arthur had barely started on his expedition to Portugal when the Horse Guards insisted on superseding him by Sir John Moore, and putting over that excellent general two elderly guardsmen."

The further treatment of this episode (pp. 127, 131-34), the author's comments on Sir John Moore's statement that "the frontiers of Portugal are indefensible" (pp. 140, 160), and the bibliography suggest that the author is unfamiliar with the role in it played by Sir John Moore, Castlereagh, the British public, and the king. The story of the brief relations between the two great soldiers, Wellesley and Moore, increases the stature of both. Yet it is omitted.

There is another omission which seems to a reviewer employed as an official historian of civil affairs in a theater of war to be unfortunate. There is much that is worth pondering in the author's account of the conduct of "the conqueror without ambition" toward a defeated enemy country (pp. 251 ff., 258 ff.), in the paradox of "the soldier of Europe" as a champion of peace, and that of this soldier-dictator as a champion of the supremacy of the civil power. The biographer might have regaled us with an account of how a Portuguese prelate and a British civil agent sought to induce this hardheaded general to set up a military government in Portugal—and why he would not.

According to the strict canons of history, this biography may have its defects; yet it yields an interpretation which is useful to historians—especially to those who have never been men of affairs. For this is no clinical X-ray, no "candid camera" biography: it is a portrait study skillfully posed, making effective use of shadows and high lights. One high light is the duke's code in his own words: "I have ate of the King's salt, and, therefore, I conceive it to be my duty to serve with unhesitating zeal and cheerfulness, when and wherever the King or his government think proper to employ me." Another high light is the author's estimate of his

subject: "Wellington was a master of the obvious and the immediate, and the most striking aspect of his intelligence is a shrewd horse sense which in the long run amounted to genius."

If this stern old warrior, full of "By Gods" and "Dammes," was beloved by children and by many women, including an adoring wife, it is because he had the courage, the energy, the resolution, the honesty, the integrity, and the simple faith of a great soldier. It may be, as the author says of the duke as a statesman, that "the great man of action is almost always behind his times"; yet in the end, the life of "The old Duke" showed that "Active men are of more use than virtuous."

Charlottesville, Virginia

J. M. SCAMMELL

THOMAS BARNES OF *THE TIMES*. By *Derek Hudson*. WITH SELECTIONS FROM HIS CRITICAL ESSAYS NEVER BEFORE REPRINTED.

Edited by *Harold Child*. (Cambridge: at the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1943. Pp. xii, 196. \$3.25.)

THE life of Thomas Barnes (1785-1841) is coeval with the making of that extraordinary institution the London *Times*, of which he was the first great editor. For many years Barnes's fame was overlaid by that of his successor Delane, but since the appearance of the massive *History of "The Times"* (New York, 1935; see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLI, 338) it is well known that the groundwork of the paper's peculiar and unrivaled position was laid by Barnes and John Walter II. The present volume is primarily a by-product of the *History* and adds relatively little of general importance. Unfortunately the data that would make possible a full, documented account of the political philosophy of either Barnes or Walter apparently do not exist, so that Mr. Hudson, like his anonymous predecessor in the *History* (or are they the same?), is forced to generalizations from his reading of the paper, supplemented by flashes of illumination from occasionally preserved letters. For example, in the momentous decision (for the *Times*) of 1835, to follow Peel into opposition and abandon the Whigs, we have only the author's word for it that the editor based his policy "on a mature consideration of the best interests of the country" (p. 88).

But this situation where probable replaces provable is a necessary consequence of anonymous journalism, of which Barnes was such a convinced and powerful exponent. If we do not expect too much, there is a great deal of interest in the scanty available details of Barnes's life and in the forty pages of his early writings here given. An old Blue Coat boy, friend of Lamb and of Leigh Hunt, he could have had a career in literature. Widely read, a gay and intellectual companion, he had the superb self-confidence and the pungent pen that belong to an editor or a critic. It is delightful to see him writing to the young Disraeli, his contributor, advising him to withhold eulogy from "that supreme humbug Coleridge, who babbled transcendental nonsense at which he laughed in his sleeve while he was

mystifying his dupes" (p. 93). And it is pleasant to read his portraits of the arrogant and irritable Croker, of the straightforward and indiscreet Samuel Whitehead, and of Thomas Moore, who should, "instead of being the idol of wanton boys and silly young women, be quoted as the patriot-poet of his country" (p. 177). Had Barnes pursued authorship instead of burying himself in the *Times*, he could have had a career of modest distinction. As an editor he was great but must remain somewhat cloaked and obscure.

Clark University

H. D. JORDAN

THE ARTHUR PAPERS: BEING THE PAPERS, MAINLY CONFIDENTIAL, PRIVATE, AND DEMI-OFFICIAL, OF SIR GEORGE ARTHUR, LAST LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF UPPER CANADA, IN THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF THE TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARIES. Edited by *Charles R. Sanderson*. Part I. (Toronto: Toronto Public Libraries and University of Toronto Press. 1943. Pp. 240. \$1.00.)

SIR George Arthur, last lieutenant governor of Upper Canada and successor to the ill-fated Sir Francis Bond Head, assumed the burdens of his office at a most critical juncture in Canadian affairs. The Rebellion of 1837 had just ended, and war between England and the United States was not impossible, owing to the frontier disturbances provoked by Canadian rebels and their American sympathizers in the border towns. Arthur was a trusted and tried official. He had won his spurs in colonial administration before he came to Canada. In the main, his political philosophy was like that of his predecessor. He looked with favor upon the Family Compact, which had dominated the affairs of the province for years, and upon Chief Justice Robinson, its head, whom he regarded as a man of the greatest ability and integrity. Arthur was alarmed by American expansionist policies, and he wanted to make his province a bulwark against republicanism. The new governor made the voyage from Portsmouth to New York in sixty-three days, owing to "extremely boisterous weather and constant downfalls." He visited Governor Marcy in Albany and came away with a very pessimistic view of the future of Canadian-American relations.

This volume of letters and papers deals mainly with the period from 1837 to July, 1838. By that time Lord Durham was in Upper Canada, and Arthur was fearful lest his authority be usurped by the high commissioner. The documents here assembled include correspondence with Glenelg, Colborne, Gosford, Head, Durham, and Palmerston; with the British consul in New York and the minister in Washington; with Canadians like Robinson, MacNab, and John Strachan, who was not averse to accepting a bishopric in reward for "nearly 40 years of useful and prominent exertions guided by a pious integrity"; with the Methodist Ryerson, whom Arthur regarded as "a very dangerous correspondent"; and with many lesser lights, including a number of office seekers. These letters throw light on the

clergy reserves, the French-Canadian problem, the crisis of 1837 and resultant border troubles, American neutrality, the quality and disposition of the Canadian militia, the delicate problem of what to do with the prisoners caught during the rebellion and in the subsequent border raids, and other minor questions. The longest document is a report by a Conservative opposed to union and federation and apparently was intended to give Lord Durham an analysis of the state of the province in 1838.

These documents are interesting and important. They have been carefully edited. It is regrettable that the preface has been postponed for a later volume and that no historical introduction has been included.

Oberlin College

CARL WITKE

BISMARCK: LEBEN UND WERK. By *Erich Eyck*. Erster Band. In 2 Bänden. (Erlenbach-Zurich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag. 1941. Pp. 679.)

THE author of this new biography of Bismarck has set himself the task of presenting the figure and the history of the great German statesman in such a way that it will be vivid not only for the specialist but also for the historically or politically interested layman. The work is based on wide reading in the Bismarck studies of the past decades, including many of the documents. We need not take too literally the statement on the dust cover, "*unter kritischer Verwertung des ganzen erreichbarer Erkenntnis Materials*," for it is not evident that Eyck has done much original work with the sources. The book is rather a survey of Bismarck's career, based on the best secondary works, seasoned and enlivened by extracts from Bismarck's letters and speeches. It is in the tradition of Max Lenz rather than of Emil Ludwig and might be characterized in a phrase as an up-to-date version of Lenz's *Geschichte Bismarcks*.

Eyck's point of view is that of a German liberal, an admirer of Bismarck and of the *kleindeutsch* solution of the problem of German unity. He is not, however, an idolator. He emphasizes Bismarck's sensitiveness to opposition, his tendency to see in it motives of person rather than of principle. He calls attention to the times when Bismarck acted in ways that he would have regarded as the blackest treachery in his own subordinates. For example, before Ölmütz he gave the Russian minister at Berlin a detailed account of the anti-Radowitz intrigues which was promptly passed on to the Austrian minister. During the Crimean War he showed his anti-Austrian memorandum addressed to Manteuffel to the Russian minister and developed the idea of an alliance of Prussia, France, and Russia, when the official policy of his government was to negotiate an alliance with Austria. That Bismarck should disagree with his chief's policies then and later is not to be condemned, but the betrayal of the differences to foreign diplomats is another matter.

In general, Eyck has carried out his expressed intention of not intruding him-

self between the object of his narrative and the reader. He does not hesitate from time to time, however, to express his own opinion. His comments are marked less by novelty than by sound sense. Perhaps his outstanding difference from most recent German writers on Bismarck is his statement that Bismarck was the one who desired the Alvensleben Convention and his refusal to see Gorchakov as the villain of the piece.

This first volume ends with the conclusion of the Danish War and the fall of Rechberg, in Eyck's opinion the real turning point in the relations of Austria and Prussia. It covers over half of Bismarck's eighty-three years, but they are mostly years of preparation. The bulk of Bismarck's achievements came in the next decades. How they can be dealt with in only a second volume is a question. The differences of opinion and most of the unsolved problems of Bismarck's policies and motives fall also in the following period. How Eyck deals with them will be the real test of his competence and will determine whether we are to have just a good, useful biography of Bismarck or one of outstanding quality.

University of Minnesota

LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL

HENRY PONSONBY, QUEEN VICTORIA'S PRIVATE SECRETARY: HIS LIFE FROM HIS LETTERS. By *Arthur Ponsonby*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1943. Pp. xvi, 425. \$3.75.)

THE increasing prestige of the British crown at the close of the nineteenth century, when monarchical institutions in general were declining, presents a problem both interesting in personal terms and not unimportant historically. Usually it has been approached through the character of Queen Victoria, which was so much like that of an impulsive child and which yet included an instinctive understanding of popular sentiment and even, in some ways, the insights of a statesman. In recent years a developing cult of the queen, variously expressed in the brief and delicate irony of Lytton Strachey and in the nine massive volumes of correspondence edited by A. C. Benson, Lord Esher, and G. E. Buckle, has unveiled her personal life and cast the light of a personalized and sometimes only half-serious history on the evolution of monarchy in Britain.

In the life and letters of his father, Lord Ponsonby provides little that is curious though much that is attractive for collectors of Victoriana. He gives a vivid picture of the peculiarities which lightened the monotony of the royal household and publishes numerous letters concerning the events of the day. The historically important new material deals with the office of private secretary. This office was regularized by General Charles Grey, who served Prince Albert and then the queen from 1849 to 1870 and established the custom that all correspondence between the queen and her ministers must pass through the private secretary's hands. Henry Ponsonby shared Grey's Liberal views and continued his policies. When the queen sought to support Disraeli against Gladstone, Ponsonby tempered her sharp judgments and

prevented the involvement of the crown in party controversies. At times the queen essayed direct correspondence with the former, but "Dizzy" apparently returned only "boundless professions of love and loyalty." When called on to write more, he replied that he was ill, and the private secretary's office remained unimpaired.

Numerous letters from the queen supplement those already published and illustrate her strongly partisan views, especially toward Gladstone's Egyptian and Irish policies after 1882. If she had been ill-advised or less tactfully restrained, Liberals might well have called into question the powers of the crown along with those of the house of lords. Recognition of the office of private secretary as the only channel of political communication gave scope to Ponsonby's unusual combination of loyalty, industry, insight, and humor, served to keep the crown above party conflicts, and was an important factor in the preservation of British monarchical institutions.

Mills College

F. H. HERRICK

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN BULGARIA. By *C. E. Black*. [Princeton Studies in History, Volume I.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1943. Pp. x, 344. \$3.75.)

THE growing pains of a young state are always of considerable interest to the historian. This study, as its title indicates, covers the early years of Bulgarian constitutional government. As the author states in his introduction, he treats the problem under three headings: the extent to which the Bulgarians were prepared to take over their government in 1878, the interplay of forces in the formulation of the constitution of 1879, and the course of constitutional government to 1885.

In answer to the first point, it is concluded that under the Turks the Bulgarians had had little or no governmental experience, though the guilds and the church offered a partial substitute. Nevertheless, the diplomats of the powers had given their home governments the impression that the Bulgarians were ready for a considerable degree of self-government. It is concluded, however, that the Bulgarians were lacking not so much in knowledge of government as in restraint and sense of responsibility.

In the second place, the constitution itself was a result of influences from Serbian and Rumanian constitutions, the Treaty of Berlin, and the policies of Russia and the Greek Orthodox church. The constitutional convention is pictured as broadly representative, and soon moderate and extremist factions developed which later became the Conservative and Liberal parties respectively, whose attitudes toward the constitution, as well as the document itself, are carefully analyzed. Superimposed on the party struggle was Prince Alexander of Battenberg himself and the tug of war of the great powers, including two conflicting policies in Russia.

The third part of the story is the picture of the interaction of these forces,

revolving chiefly about the central issue of the relative power of prince and national assembly, from the seizure of dictatorial power by the prince to his relinquishment of that power. The author rightly concludes that only part of the resulting confusion and strife was due to the Bulgarian leaders.

Anyone interested in the niceties of international law will be mildly shocked when the author refers to the "autonomous tributary Principality" of Bulgaria of the San Stefano and Berlin treaties as "an independent Bulgarian government" (p. 3) and one which, a generation after 1856, secured "full independence" (p. 17). However, the study is an excellent critical and well-documented analysis of the problem. The author has an enviable facility in the use of Bulgarian sources and opens up much material inaccessible to most Western scholars. The appendixes include a bibliographical essay, the constitution of 1879, the statute of the council of state of 1881, the amendments to the constitution proposed in 1883, and suggestions for transliteration of the Balkan alphabet. The volume is an auspicious opening for the "Princeton Studies in History."

Western Reserve University

WILBUR W. WHITE

CLEMENCEAU. By *Geoffrey Bruun*. [Makers of Modern Europe, edited by Donald C. McKay, in association with Dumas Malone.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1943. Pp. x, 225. \$3.00.)

THIS carefully organized, well-written volume is primarily an account of the public life of Clemenceau; only nine pages are given to the twenty-nine years of his life before he assumed public office. Approximately two thirds of the book are devoted to Clemenceau's career after he was sixty-five, and of this portion more than half is concerned with the brief but highly significant period from November, 1917, to January, 1920. To a considerable extent the biography is a brief political history of France from 1871 to 1920, broadening out in the latter part to include the diplomatic history of Europe from 1906 to 1920, both written in the light of material published since the first World War. It is evident from the text and from numerous footnotes that the author made a careful study not only of Clemenceau's voluminous writings but of the writings and memoirs of many important statesmen and generals of France, England, Germany, Russia, and the United States. In only one respect, perhaps, might the work have been strengthened, namely, by the more general use of newspapers to reflect public opinion of Clemenceau. The book, however, is eloquent proof of the value of historical scholarship and methods in the field of biography. It is a distinct contribution to our understanding of Clemenceau in relation to his times.

No attempt is made to depict Clemenceau as a hero. The author sees his faults and, though he endeavors to explain Clemenceau's viewpoint and the reasons for his actions, he does not condone them. He admits, for instance, that France's

decline as a naval power during Clemenceau's first ministry was "due to incompetence, confusion, and political jobbery, as well as a niggardly conception of naval needs." He believes that Clemenceau did not appreciate how "international rivalries had become a matter of loans, monopolies, concessions, of economic penetration, interlocking directorates and international pools of armament patents," and thinks that with "his nineteenth-century mind Clemenceau never clearly grasped the effect of these transitions." He is rather plain-spoken about Clemenceau's elevation to the premiership in the dark days of 1917, pointing out that it was largely because "the wealthy classes in France envisaged, as an alternative to Clemenceau, a government of the Socialists, a negotiated peace, confiscation of war profits and great fortunes, repudiation of government bonds, an inexorable drift toward Marxism such as they saw taking place in Russia." Although the author reveals how Clemenceau fought in devious ways both before and after the armistice to advance the security of France, he apparently agrees with Colonel House and Henry White that Clemenceau, "despite his hatred of Germany and whole-souled devotion to France's interests alone, was essentially far more moderate than Foch or Poincaré." Nor does he blame Clemenceau unduly for the betrayal of the Fourteen Points at the peace conference. "Indeed," he writes, "it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the betrayal of the Fourteen Points had already been half-completed, with Wilson's knowledge and House's acquiescence, before the armistice was signed."

The volume is particularly pertinent at this time, when the United States is in the midst of another world war and on the eve of another peace conference, for it reveals as plain as day the misunderstandings, frictions, rivalries, suspicions, fears, plots, and counterplots which prevailed among the Allies during the last struggle and may be expected to be found to some extent in the present one.

Indiana University

F. LEE BENNS

TIME AND CHANCE: THE STORY OF ARTHUR EVANS AND HIS FOREBEARS. By *Joan Evans*. (London: Longmans. 1943. Pp. 410.)

THE author has compiled a biography of her half-brother, a man of special interest in Balkan history. Sir Arthur Evans, "a man of paradox," was studying Balkan history and taking part in southern Slav insurrections two decades before Halbherr, in 1892, first drew his attention to Crete as an archaeological field, which led to his excavations of Knossos, whereon his fame chiefly rests. He early showed interest in "the oppressed minorities of Europe," whose champion was Gladstone. He visited Croatia in 1871 and "thereafter set the Balkans before any country in the world." He subsequently visited Rumania, was arrested as a Russian spy by the Austrians at Brod in 1875, published *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot during the Insurrection* of 1875, collaborated with Miss Irby in her Balkan relief fund, became enamored of Ragusa, where he lived for several

years, and acted as Balkan correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, publishing his articles in book form as *Illyrian Letters*.

He was "already at heart a citizen of Ragusa" when he met the historian Freeman, his future father-in-law, and worked at a "projected History of Illyria," of which two parts were published in *Archaeologia* in 1882. In his writings he fearlessly criticized not only Turkish tyranny and Austria's Herzegovinian policy but the pro-Turkish British vice-consul in Bosnia. He wanted to be either the consul at Ragusa or minister to Montenegro, residing at Ragusa, which has attracted Britons ever since Cromwell studied its republican constitution as a model for his Commonwealth. When the Slavs of Crivoscia rose as a protest against Austrian military service in 1881, Evans' actions and articles in their support caused Vienna to hold him responsible as "Gladstone's agent," and in 1882 he was arrested as he was embarking for Corfu. He was imprisoned in the Ragusan jail, where his cell was shown as a historic curiosity to the reviewer some years ago. Bryce asked a question in the house of commons and with other M. P.'s went on a deputation to Granville at the foreign office. Dilke said that they had "tons of despatches" about Evans. Anglo-Austrian official relations tied Gladstone's hands, despite or because of his famous remark when in opposition that "you cannot put your finger on the map of Europe and find a place where Austria has done good." Evans was finally released, however, on condition that he promised never to enter Austria again. He never forgot nor forgave this end of his Ragusan home. Thirty years later, when Austria threatened to bombard his beloved Belgrade, he asked the reviewer to get him a post as special correspondent of the *Morning Post* there, and though the bombardment did not materialize, he wrote interesting articles from the "White City."

Absence from archaeology never lessened his interest in the Balkans. When the first Balkan War broke out in 1912, he was attending an archaeological congress in Rome. But he commissioned the reviewer to invite, in his name, all the Balkan ministers there to dinner to discuss the situation. Evans there delivered a lecture, in which he said that the most remarkable fact of this conflict was "that Greek and Bulgarian should at last work together." He entertained the delegates to the Balkan Peace Conference in 1913, housed the Ragusa refugees at Youlbury in 1914, and during World War I sent memoranda to Grey and Balfour on behalf of "the National Union of the Southern Slavs" and against the Italian claims to Dalmatia. He was regarded as "an unofficial Slav delegate" at the Paris conference, where "the geographical ignorance of politicians shocked him." Later, Roupios, the Greek foreign minister, asked him, through the present reviewer, to speak on Greece's behalf in Belgrade, and he discussed Balkan union with Papanastassiou at Athens. Fifty years after his impressment he revisited Ragusa, where he was "greeted as hero." He "had lived to see the country of his adoption a free sovereign state."

Durban, South Africa

WILLIAM MILLER

THE BLOCKADE OF GERMANY AFTER THE ARMISTICE, 1918-1919: SELECTED DOCUMENTS OF THE SUPREME ECONOMIC COUNCIL, SUPERIOR BLOCKADE COUNCIL, AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION, AND OTHER WARTIME ORGANIZATIONS. Selected and edited by *Suda Lorena Bane* and *Ralph Haswell Lutz*. [The Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace, Publication No. 16.] (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1942. Pp. viii, 874. \$6.00.)

It is presumably mere coincidence that this book was published at a time when a second great world war is in progress, the close of which will bring problems somewhat similar to those which arose during the period of the armistice following World War I. It is unfortunate that the work did not appear a few years earlier, for in that case some enterprising historian or economist would presumably already have written a careful summary and analysis of the material which would be useful in policy making at the end of the present war.

The work itself makes no pretense either to summarize or to analyze. It is a collection of documents. The collection, however, is remarkably complete. Very few official documents of importance with reference to the blockade seem to be missing. The arrangement of the documents, moreover, which is strictly chronological, is a satisfactory one. Some critic might perhaps suggest that the authors might have sorted their material by subjects, with different sections for matters relating to different countries and for different aspects of the actions taken with respect to any given country. Such a topical arrangement, however, would have been all but impossible, both because of the frequent overlapping of topics and because of the innumerable repetitions of the names of the organizations concerned, the time and place of the meetings, and the persons present, which would have been required.

The book impresses one with the immense complexity of the blockade and of the organizations concerned with it. The title *The Blockade of Germany* is, indeed, somewhat inadequate, for the documents cover actions respecting a score of European countries—ex-enemy countries, countries that had been under the German yoke, and neutral countries. The biggest problem, of course, was that of food imports, but many of the actions taken related to imports of other commodities and to exports as well.

It would appear from the record that the Allies had done little advance planning regarding the economic policies to be pursued after the cessation of hostilities. This failure may to some extent be excused because of the suddenness with which German resistance collapsed. The United Nations in the present war are going much further in advance planning, and it is to be hoped that the organizations that are already being set up can act more promptly and more intelligently than their predecessors of the first World War.

The only expressions of opinion on the part of Miss Bane and Mr. Lutz are contained in the first two paragraphs of the brief preface, which read:

The continuation of the Allied food blockade of Germany after the Armistice of November 11, 1918, exercised a profound influence upon the driving forces of the German revolution of 1918-1919 and the subsequent establishment of the Weimar Republic. The Armistice agreement promised food, but supplies did not reach Germany until about five months later. As the organization of agriculture, industry, and commerce under the old imperial government collapsed after November 11, the wartime distribution and rationing machinery deteriorated. The suffering of the German children, women, and men, with the exception of farmers and rich hoarders, was greater under the continued blockade than prior to the Armistice.

The materials of this volume present a documentary history of the food blockade, its expansion to the Baltic, the unremitting American effort to secure its relaxation before the peace was signed, as well as the relation of the blockade to censorship policies and contemporary public opinion of the blockade after the Armistice.

The authors are doubtless correct in the opinion that the continued blockade greatly affected political events in Germany during 1918 and 1919, though the documents presented in themselves hardly disclose that influence. The "unremitting American effort to secure its relaxation" is conspicuous throughout the volume. The documents indicate clearly the dominant position of Herbert Hoover in the American group and his eagerness to have the blockade relaxed. He and the other Americans were moved partly by humanitarian sentiment but even more by the desire to prevent political chaos in Germany and in several other European countries.

In general the position of the British authorities was similar to that of the Americans. The French, on the other hand, were more inclined to severity, especially in the treatment of Germany. They professed to fear and doubtless did fear that Germany might break the armistice and renew the war. They wished to retain the blockade as a club. Moreover, they sought to limit the use of German gold and other assets in payment for imports of food, as such use would lessen Germany's ability to pay reparations. Since France had suffered more in the war than any other Allied nation, this attitude is at least understandable.

The most interesting single document in this collection consists of extracts from the minutes of the meeting of the Supreme War Council held on March 8, 1919, in which nearly all the leading statesmen of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan took part. President Wilson was not present, but Mr. Lloyd George quoted statements of Mr. Wilson made at the meeting of the Supreme War Council on January 13, 1919, which show that his attitude on the blockade was similar to that of the other Americans. There was much frank discussion at the March 8 meeting and no little bitterness on the part of several of the speakers. It is to be hoped that when the present war comes to an end the leaders among the United Nations will be more nearly in agreement with respect to the immediate economic actions to be taken toward the enemy countries. It is also to be hoped—and this result seems likely—that the victory over Germany

and Japan will be so complete that fear of a resumption of hostilities need play no part in determining those actions.

Washington, D. C.

E. DANA DURAND

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN RELIEF IN EUROPE, 1918-1919, INCLUDING NEGOTIATIONS LEADING UP TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE OFFICE OF DIRECTOR GENERAL OF RELIEF AT PARIS BY THE ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POWERS. Documents selected and edited by *Suda Lorena Bane* and *Ralph Haswell Lutz*. [The Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace, Publication No. 20.] (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1943. Pp. xxi, 745. \$6.00.)

THE full title justly indicates what this volume contains. Some papers describe the food situation that existed in Europe when the armistice was signed in 1918. Others relate to the negotiations for relief, the organization of the American Relief Administration and the Children's Relief Bureau, the work of the Allied Railway Commission, the Remittance Plan, the Coal Commission, the European Technical Advisers Commissions, and the European Children's Fund. Here will be found external and internal correspondence of the Food Administrator and the American Relief Administration; its public announcements as to policies and programs; instructions, reports, and statistical memoranda passed to and from within its staff.

The volume contains those papers which the editors consider "important and illuminating." Every document seems to be given in full. The editors add, "Within the limits of one volume, we have not been able to cover the organization of relief in detail in all the countries included in the program. To do this would require at least a volume for each country."

The material presented being derived wholly from the records of the Food Administrator and the American Relief Administration, this volume expresses the American point of view consistently, without taking account of any other.

Mr. Herbert Hoover has supplied a five-page introductory statement about the magnitude and character of the operations. This is followed by a reprint of two articles which Mr. Hoover wrote for *Collier's* in November and December, 1942, under the title "We Will Have to Feed the World Again."

The organization of relief in Europe from 1918 to 1919 was an enormous undertaking, great in scope, great in complexity, important and salutary in its achievements, brilliantly and boldly managed, and very much worth studying in view of the probability that something similar will soon have to be undertaken on an even larger scale and under greater difficulties.

Except for Mr. Hoover's valuable prefatory observations, challenging and helpful as far as they go, this volume of source material is almost without notes or explanatory topical introductions such as would, if they could have been supplied,

greatly assist the reader to interpret and to convert the raw material into history. What does not get into such correspondence and memoranda is often more important than what is preserved in the files. This reviewer was connected with one minor project concerning which a number of documents are assembled in this volume, namely, the Inter-Allied Danube River Commission; and he doubts whether any reader who has nothing before him but these papers could properly understand what did or—more significant—what did not happen within the province of that commission. Yet one or two pages of explanation would have sufficed to relate the documents to the larger pattern of events during the spring and the summer of 1919. Someone, perhaps at Stanford, would confer an additional favor on the students of relief in Europe if he would collect notes and comments from some of the many persons who worked with the American Relief Administration and who are still living.

New York City

HENRY JAMES

THE NETHERLANDS. Edited by *Bartholomew Landheer*. [The United Nations Series, Robert J. Kerner, General Editor.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1943. Pp. xviii, 464. \$5.00.)

THIS is one of the most puzzling books ever printed in this country. At first the reader gets the impression that it must be a valuable source of information on a very interesting member of the United Nations, for it was composed by twenty-one experts. But perhaps this large number of writers caused the editor great difficulty in his attempt to co-ordinate the various chapters dealing respectively with the geographical and historical backgrounds, the economic and social developments, the cultural aspects, and the overseas territories. Several peculiar contradictions have remained, besides many amazing errors and strange constructions.

Historians in particular will be disappointed to learn that in the four chapters devoted to Dutch history much space has been reserved for subjects that have been treated more fully in the chapters on literature, art, and religion. As a result we can find almost nothing on the system of government in the Dutch Republic, the wars of the seventeenth century, the rivalry with England, and the relations with the German states. More than a score of American historians, even without the knowledge of a single Dutch word, could have written a far better account of Dutch history than is contained in the four chapters just mentioned.

Those historians would not have told us that in the Middle Ages Holland was "a possession of the German Empire," that in the eleventh century the count of Holland rebelled against "the King of Germany," that before 1580 Alexander Farnese was duke of Parma, that the truce signed in 1609 between Spain and the Dutch Republic lasted twenty-one years, that the first Dutch ships reached Java in 1595, that the Dutch Reformed church has been guilty of superstition because its clergy believed in the existence of the devil, that the government of the Dutch

Republic was *famous* for its slowness of action, that "the infirmities of old age corrupted the strength of the new Republic," that the Dutch West India Company was chartered in 1619, that Rotterdam had two hundred thousand inhabitants in 1810 and only ninety thousand in 1849 (pp. 81 and 159), while in 1650 it had as many as Amsterdam, that Erasmus was born in 1466 and also in 1467, that Admiral De Ruyter carried a broom at his masthead instead of Tromp, who is not mentioned in the book, and that at first the capitalization of the Dutch East India Company was only six times as large as that of its English rival.

Professor Barnouw could have contributed a brilliant chapter on Dutch literature, but he chose to write the chapter on the history of the seventeenth century, the most disappointing one in the whole book. We are informed that the seventeenth century was the golden age of the Dutch people, as it actually was. Why then did all the writers have to rush through it so fast, as did Landheer in discussing the social developments, Vandenbosch in treating the foreign policy (less than one page), and Vlekke in the chapter on education (one paragraph)?

The bibliography also reflects the poor editorial policy which has rendered the book almost valueless to the conscientious historian. The great work by P. J. Blok is said to be out of date, though it is far superior to several other works mentioned. Many important sources for the golden age (1588-1700) are missing, but for a later period the writers have recommended the worthless volume by H. W. Van Loon. The section on political parties, however, is good; but that on foreign policy neglects the seventeenth century. The reviewer hardly feels flattered when his little source book on Erasmus is preferred above all other books on that great humanist.

He is amused to find that the best history of the Dutch East Indies in English (E. S. de Klerck, *History of the Netherlands East Indies*, 2 vols., 1938) is totally ignored and that *The Ageless Indies* by R. Kennedy receives prominent mention.

University of Michigan

ALBERT HYMA

THE FRENCH RIGHT AND NAZI GERMANY, 1933-1939: A STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION. By *Charles A. Micaud*. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1943. Pp. x, 255. \$3.50.)

DEFINED as "that section of the French people which has never quite reconciled itself to the ideals of the French Revolution," the "Right" was traditionally nationalist in its foreign policy. When Hitler came to power in Germany the French Right was as determined as ever to resist any change in the *status quo* of Versailles. By the time of Munich, five years later, the militaristic, intransigent, anti-German, and anti-Russian Right and the traditionally revisionist, pacifist, conciliatory, and pro-Russian Left had executed a mutual interchange of position—except that both retained their previous points of view toward the Soviet Union. The exception is significant.

This volume traces with great care and an exhaustive marshaling of evidence one side of the picture. The other side, the transformation of the Left from pacifism to bellicism, is touched upon only by implication. Perhaps an investigation on this score would not prove as rewarding nor be as significant in documenting the downfall of France; but it fairly shouts to be done as a complement to the present study.

The author is a young French scholar who has been in this country for some seven years and claims thereby a certain objectivity toward subsequent developments in France. Happily he has not—were such a thing possible for any Frenchman—attained a degree of impartiality such as to leave him suspect of being himself a Rightist. Unless the reviewer is mistaken there is a highly commendable personal as well as scholarly conviction in the author's final warning that "Unless a real and lasting compromise is found during and after the war between the social systems and conceptions of government of the present allies, the ideological war will not be ended by the defeat of the Axis."

There may be some eyebrows raised at the author's confidence that an exclusive reliance upon the editorial columns of the Rightist press of Paris and upon statements by Rightist spokesmen in the Chamber of Deputies "give a fairly accurate picture of at least the important trends in Rightist opinion concerning foreign policy." The ultimate test would appear to lie in whether events have shown that the spokesmen of the Right were true representatives. The question may be endlessly debated, but in general the author's confidence appears to be vindicated.

A legitimate complaint, arising in part out of the nature of this kind of source material, may be lodged against the great mass of evidence quoted and cited. The reader is many times sorely put to it not to lose the trail of the argument amid a text heavily forested with supporting material.

Washington, D. C.

THOMAS K. FORD

LES COLONIES FRANÇAISES: PASSÉ ET AVENIR. By *Jacques Stern*, Ancien Ministre des Colonies. (Bibliothèque Brentano's, Études historiques, économiques, et sociales.) (New York: Brentano's. 1943. Pp. xix, 397.)

THE student of history long has desired a one-volume, factual study of French colonies by a Frenchman. Jacques Stern has satisfied this desire in his *Les Colonies françaises: passé et avenir*, published in 1943 by Brentano's and written from the cloisters of Princeton University where the author resides.

M. Stern is well qualified to write this book. He was private secretary to Leon Bourgeois, minister of foreign affairs. Later he served as a deputy from the Basses-Alpes and a member of the committees for the navy, war, foreign affairs, and finances. A reporter of budgets for the navy from 1928 to 1936, he represented France at the London Naval Conference of 1929 and at the Brussels, London,

Prague, and Lisbon Economic Conferences. He was made minister of colonies in 1936. The author has contributed articles to some of the leading French newspapers and from 1937 to June, 1940, was administrator-director of the Havas News Agency.

For two reasons M. Stern holds a preferred position in presenting the political viewpoints of the French Empire to the American people. He demanded in 1928 that the United States and England be reimbursed for the sums loaned France during World War I. He urged in 1936, when Germany violated the Treaty of Locarno by occupying the Rhine area, that the French army be summoned for active service. He was among the few who stood out against the "appeasers."

M. Stern does not subscribe to the code of Jack London's "inevitable white man," determined to "farm the world," although like Mr. Churchill he will not assist in imperial liquidation. He offers instead in the introduction and conclusion a brief for the maintenance of colonial possessions by the powers.

In the introduction the author maintains, insofar as his country is concerned: "In spite of our disaster, always faithful to *La Patrie*, these French peoples of color have not renounced their common mother. Not a colony has been upset! Today, by the hundreds of thousands, they flock to the tricolor; they fight the Germans, shoulder to shoulder with the magnificent troops from America and England." M. Stern fails to mention here one tragic exception—French Indo-China, enslaved by the Japanese.

In the fourteen concluding pages M. Stern points to some of the more disturbing problems all peace negotiators must face. The United Nations, through the Atlantic Charter, have affirmed certain principles. They have declared that if they are victorious they intend to relinquish all conquests and all annexations. They are determined, in brief, to re-establish the *status quo ante*. But what is this *status quo ante* in the case of Russia? The Russia of 1919 or the Russia of 1921? Is Ethiopia to be independent? And if so, will England tolerate a nation near Egypt which might some day endanger the roads between London and the dominions? Is a league of nations capable of solving these problems?

M. Stern offers his own Atlantic Charter for the French Empire. The economic aim should be directed at a "profitable association" between France and the colonies. The political aim should be the creation of a homogeneous body strong enough to "resist all the forces of aggression" pointed toward France since the days of Charlemagne. The philosophic aim should be directed toward humane legislation, freedom for all beliefs, Christian, Mohammedan, or Confucian, so that man can live in an atmosphere of mutual harmony and respect. And finally, the ultimate aim, "to abolish all imperialistic policies, all exploitations of one people by another people, all subordination of a colored race by a white race and thus prove the solidarity of all mankind."

Noble thoughts these! And yet these thoughts are abortive unless imbued with

the realization that in the years of tomorrow spiritual equality is possible and can exist side by side with physical and material differences. M. Stern is too realistic to assume that colonial peoples are to be remade by white men into their own images. He shows wisdom, too, in emphasizing the many achievements of the past rather than the many hopes for the future.

West Virginia University

THOMAS E. ENNIS

THE GROWTH OF THE RED ARMY. By *D. Fedotoff White*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1944. Pp. xiv, 486. \$3.75.)

THE RUSSIAN ARMY: ITS MEN, ITS LEADERS, AND ITS BATTLES. By *Walter Kerr*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1944. Pp. 250, vii. \$2.75.)

It is no mere pedant's joy to hold the first footnoted book on the Red Army in one's hands. Mr. Fedotoff White's work betokens the beginning of a new era in the treatment of that military terra incognita, leaving far behind journalism in book and other forms, as well as much of the yet unprinted, perhaps never to be printed, reports of the military attachés in Moscow. To most of the attachés Mr. White could show what they were to observe and judge rather than prejudice, and to journalists what an author with some military experience and judgment could see even from afar and in the by no means blackened-out looking glass of Soviet literature.

As a former officer, with service in the Tsarist, White, and Red forces, the author knows and remembers what the military historian, as Hans Delbrück used to emphasize, learns only through his skin in personal service. He treats fully the seemingly trivial things in military life and organization, from the service record to shoulder straps, from soldier's pay to punishments and rewards of various kinds, including ranks up to the marshal—a rank which, by the way, is not one "echoing the glories of the French revolution" (p. 375), since it was only reintroduced by Napoleon—from the routine of daily service to the evolution of a strategic-tactical doctrine for the new army. In the discussions centering around this doctrine, in which the name of Trotsky assumes no slight importance, we have an excellent illustration of how a number of *Weltanschauungen* may clash over such apparently technical questions as the composition, strength, and objectives of an army.

With the author's claim that his work is "a study in military sociology" we beg to differ. Actually and essentially, it is a social history of the army, including the Red Star Fleet. It deals at length with the component parts that went into its making: Tsarist elements, as specialists, peasant sons, industrial workers, and very few "others," or, differently grouped, party members and non-party men. For the benefit of studies in the military sector of revolutions the reviewer would have liked to see such questions as these clarified: What were the original professions of the very unruly and always revolutionary sailors of the Tsarist and early

Red navies? Were they originally seafaring people and to what extent? Or were they largely drafted from the non-seafaring population? This would help to settle the general question in military sociology of whether the nature of the service or their earlier background makes sailors mutinous or revolutionary, or, more specifically, what drove the sailors to the Kronstadt revolt of 1921 (which might be compared with the purge of Hitler's storm troopers in 1934)? Another question which Mr. White has raised in the reviewer's mind rather than in his own history is a query about the ultimate fate of those formations of Letts which played a rather considerable role in the early days of the Revolution (pp. 18-28), together with other formations of foreigners. Such a query or inquest would point to an even broader problem: the role of the foreigner in the Russian armies ever since Peter the Great or even earlier. Are these foreigners of one kind or another—the last of whom, with non-Russian names like Feldman, Eideman, Blücher, went down with the great purge of 1937—no longer needed or wanted? The shocking institution, to most Western military minds, of the commissars and other political workers inside the Red Army, with their ups and downs and their ins and outs, is given a full description and a careful, by no means entirely negative, evaluation; so also are the institutions for releasing possible upward pressure such as are provided for "self-criticism," airing misgivings, through "wall newspapers" and other publishing. Publishing, incidentally, might have found a somewhat ampler treatment, touching on the soldier newspaper *Red Star*, which carries on in this war, while the Germans have suppressed their nearest approach to a service paper, the *Militärwochenblatt*, after over one hundred years of publication.

These socioeconomics of the Red Army, the very earthiness of which the author by no means neglects, lead up to the various five-year plans as Soviet *Wehrwirtschaft* and the preparation for mechanized warfare, for which the so-called experts formerly denied the Russians' abilities and equipment. This mobilization and motorization of economy and minds was—in a retort? or more naturally than that?—amalgamated with the new history and hero-worship from Alexander Nevski to Kutusov, figures that have nothing to do with motorization and Pokrovski's historical materialism as once taught. The author concludes his history on the eve of the Russo-German war, which he does not insist is wholly explained by what he himself has treated and cannot be explained to the full on the basis of presently available sources. It can, however, be understood best by the help of such books as Mr. White's, which, among other things, illuminates the resilience, changeability, and adaptability of that body.

Mr. Kerr's little book is a continuation of White's and uses journalistic means to cover the war in the months from November, 1941, to April, 1943. Among the many journalists' war books—a category which this reader sometimes resents because the daily dispatches they send are so meager—Mr. Kerr's ranks fairly high both in acumen and in modesty, evidenced by his ready and repeated admission of not having been able to witness much war in its battle actuality. "The

Russians do not like to have observers around when their troops are in action" (p. 211). But why, then, should a non-witness write that in some battle "the majority [of Russians] fought on until death" (p. 96)? Or that a Russian cavalry corps "charged into a German division one moonlit night and destroyed an entire regiment, killing 2,000 officers and men" (p. 91)? The resurrection of cavalry will have to be based on firmer grounds than such a story.

Sherman, Connecticut

ALFRED VAGTS

RUSSIA & POSTWAR EUROPE. By *David J. Dallin*. Translated by *F. K. Lawrence*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943. Pp. x, 230. \$2.75.)

THE author's previous volume, *Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy, 1939-1942*, was a well-knit, cogently reasoned exposition of the subject matter. His present work is, in a measure, a sequel to it, dealing with Soviet Russia's foreign policy "now and in the postwar years to come." The book is divided into four sections. The first is concerned with the basic principles of Soviet policy and the relation of the new Soviet patriotism to communism. The main trends of Soviet foreign policy in its phase concerning Great Britain and Germany are treated in the second. The last two sections present conclusions drawn from prewar history of Soviet Russia and discuss Russia's future frontiers in Europe, as well as Soviet plans with respect to Poland and Germany.

One has difficulty in escaping a feeling of deep depression and black foreboding after laying down Mr. Dallin's book. The author's hope, expressed in the last pages of his work, that a new Russian policy which would give Europe "one of the principal conditions for a long and lasting peace" may emerge from the travail of war, does not flow from the evidence. What Mr. Dallin calls "the separate solution," which would mean the marshaling of eastern and a great part of central Europe under the hegemony of the Kremlin and the refusal of Russia to participate in any international military body, while maintaining a great armed force of its own, seem to be the more valid deductions from the contents of the volume. This would imply the creation of a Soviet security zone, with a firm Soviet control of the foreign policy of the several small states and an attempt to foster a "friendly" government, as well as a strong Communist party in Germany.

At the same time, Mr. Dallin believes that "it is hardly probable that Russia's chief allies would comply with her desires for considerable expansion in any form whatever." What such prospects would mean to the postwar world does not need any elaboration.

The author shows a thorough knowledge of the available source material in the field of Soviet Russia's policy—whether there is sufficient documentary material at hand now to permit drawing any but the most tentative conclusions is, of course, a moot question. Dallin's analysis is logical and penetrating. Some of the

conclusions reached by Mr. Dallin appear, however, to be unnecessarily rigid and dogmatic. To cite only one:

The place of Germany and Great Britain in the theory and practice of Russian Communism was fixed a long time ago. The practice has changed from time to time and there has been much zigzagging, but the principles of foreign policy remain the same. They are bound to remain unaltered to the end of this war, in so far as the main protagonist in the East of Europe remains the same.

This may be admitted as one of the several possible hypotheses, but surely to accept this as a final conclusion would be tantamount to viewing history in the spirit of a Sophoclean tragedy.

While one must agree with Mr. James B. Reston's statement, in the *New York Times* of March 5, 1944, that so far in this war the great nations have not yet found a solid basis for lasting peace, the canvas painted by Mr. Dallin's brush overemphasizes the *oscuro* at the expense of the *chiaro*.

When the author leaves the familiar ground of Soviet foreign policy, he exhibits a less complete knowledge of recent Russian history. He apparently fails to understand Frunze's plans for the introduction of the principle of unity of command into the Red Army (p. 28). His remarks about the reintroduction of commissars into the Soviet armed forces (p. 31) tend to indicate that he was not aware that as early as April 6, 1918, these Soviet functionaries were already officially known as military commissars.

The editing and proofreading are not always perfect. Thus on page 108 the former United States ambassador in Berlin is said to have written that "he had heard in Moscow," etc. An examination of Ambassador Dodd's *Diary* shows that the information had reached the latter in Berlin and was given him by Mr. Duranty. The quotation from the *Diary* (n. 46) is inaccurate.

These minor blemishes, however, do not affect the main argument of the book, which should be carefully read by all interested in the problem of postwar world affairs.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

D. FEDOTOFF WHITE

MY NATIVE LAND. By Louis Adamic. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1943. Pp. x, 507. \$3.75.)

LOUIS ADAMIC, in *My Native Land*, tells the story of Yugoslavia. The book is ably, even impressively, written, though it never attains the density and power of *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, qualities which made the record of Rebecca West's journey through this country such a stimulating experience to the reader, even in those parts where he cannot at all agree with the author's views.

As for the earlier parts of Yugoslav history, Adamic hardly pretends to give the results of his own research; he is satisfied to group the facts according to his

main points of view. In doing so, Adamic does not care for nuances: a man to him is good or bad, a thing black or white. And the reader gets the impression that for the author the past in general is very black and that of Yugoslavia particularly so. We see something of his general feeling in what he says of the present, "*but* we were living in a world which was less tied to tradition . . . than it was moving toward a great change" (p. 420). He says of J. Vidmar, one of his favorite leaders of Slovenian radicalism, "He welcomed the future, whatever form it took so long as it was away from the past" (p. 147). This is in contrast to Rebecca West, who is at her sympathetic best in presenting the great forces, ever at work, underlying Balkan history, or in evoking a complicated character such as King Alexander. Adamic blacks in all that is supposed to serve as background: Turkey, Austria, the Catholic hierarchy, and, if not the Serbs, at least the Pan-Serbs (and he is quick to attribute a Pan-Serbian attitude to any Serb not strictly oppositionist). Wholly black, of course, is his picture of fascism or whatever is related to fascism according to his views. Therefore, he is unable to present any part of the particular Croatian ideology, a field in which Rebecca West also failed significantly (it is Anton Radich who, much more than Stefan, interests the historian looking for the development of ideas). The American reader, however, may find this ideology explained in the articles of Professor Dinko Tomasič.

The parts left unblackened in Adamic's drawing are reserved for the radical opposition within the Yugoslav nations, among which the author's native Slovenia enjoys especial importance, and for Russia, insofar as Tsarist inner politics are not involved. Thus, for example, he devotes ten pages (pp. 112 ff.) to describing the tortures applied, in King Alexander's Belgrade, to those suspected of communism, while similar occurrences on the other side are dismissed with the comment, "And what about the Moscow Trials back in '37? . . . they weren't as important as that the Soviet's multi-national arrangement seemed to work" (p. 143). And if in the nineteenth century the record of the British-Balkan politics is an imperialistic one, what about the record of Russia, which provokes no criticism from him for this period?

From the points of view just discerned, Adamic sets about his main task, the description and the evaluation of Mikhailovich and his army on the one hand and, on the other, of the Liberation Front led by Tito. In the course of this discussion the reader perhaps will not be surprised to hear that the Serbian Mikhailovich, "an orthodox soldier, trained in the same French school that had produced Gamelin" (pp. 48-49) (but what about De Gaulle?), and his group are ineffective and linked up with fascism, while Tito's Front is always the opposite. While it is easy enough for the reviewer to point out, for example, that Ferdinand of Bulgaria was not a Hohenzollern (as stated on p. 290), that in Austria reaction was not dominant at the time when in 1848 the South Slavs turned against the Hungarians (p. 272), that the reasons leading to the Austrian amnesty of 1917 were hardly those of-

ferred by the author (p. 302), it is more difficult to formulate concrete objections to his narrative of the events from 1941 on. However, while Adamic quotes without criticism an anonymous official in the Yugoslav government in exile in London as saying (p. 431) that "the 'statements' by him [Mikhailovich] which the government has been handing out are all false, written right here in London, in fact, in a room on the floor just below me," we are safe in assuming that these statements were transmitted from Mikhailovich's headquarters to Yovanovich, then Yugoslav premier, by George Rendel, the English minister to that government in exile. The government itself had no way of direct wireless communication with Mikhailovich, a fact to which Adamic refers on page 62.

Misleading is the account of the discussions at the cabinet meetings in Belgrade on April 4 and 5, 1941, held to determine whether the new Yugoslav government, which had repudiated the pact with Germany on March 27, should send representatives to Berlin or Rome. "In this discussion," Adamic states, "the degradation of South-Slavic 'leadership'—on a par with most European 'leadership'—touched bottom" (p. 377). According to him the purpose of this mission would have been "to try to convince Hitler and Mussolini that the Simovich government wanted above all else an 'honorable' cooperation with the Axis if they would only be so kind as to make it possible." According to information given to the reviewer, however, the Belgrade government was struggling desperately to win time for mobilization. They had information to the effect that Hitler would attack at any moment, and they had details concerning the strength of the German troops then gathering, particularly at the Bulgarian-Yugoslav frontier; by a strange accident no order for mobilization had been given on March 27. Adamic is right in stating that, if Hitler had not struck on April 6, two Yugoslav ministers would have left on April 7 for Rome and Belgrade, respectively; their departure, however, would have been owing to motives quite other than those suggested by the author.

This unwillingness to understand motives is characteristic of Adamic's whole presentation of the question: Tito versus Mikhailovich, or as he sees it, "the future *versus* the past" (p. 49). Although he opposes the Partisan policy, which to him is "simply humanity and common sense," to the "team-work between the Fascists and pan-Serbians" (pp. 84 f.) (*i.e.*, Mikhailovich and his army), we have numerous reports from the general in the fall of 1943 in which he complains that the Ustashi (the armed forces of the Croatian quisling government) were being accepted by the soldiers of Tito. Again, while Adamic asserts that many achievements of Tito's troops had been credited through a "publicity hoax" to "Mikhailovich and his Chetniks" (p. 73), the Serbian general makes just the reverse complaints.

No one who has glanced over the reports of the winter 1943-44 can agree with Adamic's statement (p. 54) that Mikhailovich fought his last battle against the

Axis in October, 1941. If Adamic complains of Mikhailovich's attempts to exterminate the Partisan troops (pp. 73 ff.), the Serbian reports give most detailed evidence of cruelties perpetrated against the Mikhailovich army by the followers of this movement which represents "simply humanity and common sense": cruelties which can hardly be surpassed by the imagination (*cf.*, for example, the report on "The Losinj Crime," telling how, in September, 1943, about two hundred men of the general's army—a large part of them were Croats—were killed by detachments of the Liberation Front in an especially brutal way).

As a historical contribution Adamic's book has little value. It is an ably and passionately written polemical treatise which contains much material. In order to use it, one must apply utmost caution and a full amount of historical criticism.

Catholic University of America

FREDERIC ENGEL-JANOSI

American History

THE GROWTH OF AMERICAN THOUGHT. By *Merle Curti*, Professor of History, University of Wisconsin. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1943. Pp. xx, 848. \$5.00.)

FOR the first time, this study makes available in a single work a comprehensive analysis of the cultural history of the American people. Its appearance, in view of the significance of the subject, is consequently a major event in American historiography. With no intention to disparage other excellent works in the field—without which Professor Curti doubtless could not have completed his own—one observes a sweep and at the same time an internal unity in this book which renders it unique and invaluable.

The study covers the entire story from colonial beginnings to the eve of the present war. Background is provided by a summary of seventeenth century developments; thereafter chronology unfolds. Periodization involves units of about a generation in length, once the colonial era is past—1800–30, 1830–50, and so on. In spatial terms no section of the country is omitted; but regionalism as such is stressed only in relation to the South and to the Middle West. The continuous interaction of European influences and native environment, with the correlative question as to what was distinctively American in the final product, receives constant and impartial consideration. Most striking is the catholicity of interests, the broad conception of what constitutes the cultural life of a people. As noted in the introduction, the growth of all significant phases of knowledge, ideas, values, and institutions is included. The role of intellectual leaders is recognized, but so, too, is the more obscure matter of popular attitudes. The latter theme involves everything from early folk lore to recent developments in the study of public opinion. In intellectual and institutional history older emphases on theological,

political, and literary thought are brought into a larger synthesis including the arts and sciences. Indeed, the inclusion of the natural sciences is in itself a notable contribution and one which should prove suggestive to humanists as well as to scientists themselves.

The very comprehensiveness of this work must have involved two major difficulties relating, respectively, to the sheer bulk of sources and to the complexity of materials. The remarkable range of the author's reading will be obvious upon even casual examination; and the appended critical bibliography is in consequence the best available in any single study.

Having accumulated all this material, the author faced a difficult problem of organization. This is met by presenting certain "leading social attitudes" characteristic of given periods—for example, the growth of the idea of Americanism, 1775-1800—and by then relating to these the chief developments in philosophy, religion, education, social institutions, and the arts and sciences. But there is no arbitrary outline of the topics, which take form rather from trends more or less peculiar to each period. Remarkable is the insight into the interrelationships of varied developments, which provides a sense of smooth sailing through apparent cross-currents and confusions. Meanwhile, one does not feel that the course is forced by doctrinaire considerations. It should be stressed, moreover, that "thought" is not expanded to take in all things; the necessary general background is given, but there is no tracing of the political or economic stories. In a word, this is not a social history as such, but rather a social history of thought. Over-all integration is provided by several central themes, of which "progress"—in relation to both social welfare and technical advances—is perhaps of chief significance. Thus the advancement of the sciences is not only viewed as of interest *per se* but as significant in the extent to which this was related to the people as a whole. Other major trends also run throughout the narrative, notably the growth of nationalism and the encroachments of science upon supernaturalism.

One senses that Professor Curti is sympathetic with the rise of the common man, with "progress" as just defined. He would probably agree with the view, noted in later chapters, that the historian cannot entirely transcend the subjective and cannot therefore expect complete agreement with his selections and emphases. But granting this, his treatment of even controversial topics seems as objective as is humanly possible. To note only one instance, those inclined to question equalitarianism will find their side of the matter presented quite as fully as the reverse and without praise or censure in either case. Only rarely is there an expression of specific value judgments; some scholars may not agree, for example, with the estimate of John Dewey as "America's most eminent and original philosopher" (p. 715). Generally speaking, Mr. Curti neither points with pride nor views with alarm. Hence his work, while recognizing practically all divergencies of opinion, is distinguished throughout by even temper and general urbanity.

No one, of course, could prepare so mature a synthesis without making cer-

tain basic assumptions. The author plainly believes that the nation affords a valid unit for the study of cultural history but avoids any suggestion of chauvinism. Also implicit is the concept of a historical continuity, in which one set of phenomena follows—not entirely accidentally—upon another. The whole is plainly envisaged as having meaning for the present. Causal relationships are thus indicated but constant care is taken to avoid their oversimplification. There is no suggestion of the “great man,” of the so-called Marxian, or of other monistic hypotheses, despite the lure of easy interpretations. Nor is there any evidence of metaphysical approaches. No doubt such adjectives as empirical or positivistic could be applied to the whole treatment, if it were possible to define their usage in some detail. If all this constitutes a philosophy of history, the reviewer is sympathetic therewith.

Space does not permit one to raise the many specific comments or questions suggested by the text, or even to provide the summary of contents that would be desirable. It will be a rare reader who does not find his own knowledge increased and interest stimulated by various sections of the work. The style is clear and readable throughout. Omissions of important topics seem negligible, though no doubt the counsel of perfection would have recommended a few items not included. Was there not, for example, something approaching a “children’s rights” movement which paralleled the rise of feminism and which deserves parallel consideration? Again, more heed might have been given in a work so concerned with democratic trends to the possibility of inherent conflicts between liberty and equality, though this is indeed suggested at a number of points (pp. 191, 303). Curti, like most of us, sometimes uses the term “democracy” simply to connote equality and on other occasions to include liberty as well; and this application of one word to both ideals may tend to identify them and so to hide any lurking irreconcilabilities. (This question was an almost academic one prior to recent decades but has become obvious and acute in a time when liberals, who once demanded liberty, are now accused of suppressing it in the interest of equalitarian “regimentation.”) But the impressive thing is that any one author could envisage this complex scene so completely that the individual critic can single out only an occasional nook or cranny that seems to have escaped attention.

As in all works that lend form to a hitherto somewhat confused field, *The Growth of American Thought* will stimulate further studies in particular areas and ultimately, as a result of this, further attempts at synthesis. Professor Curti recognizes that he was handicapped at times by a lack of adequate monographic literature, though he quite rightly points out that this afforded no reason for postponing the present work. This lack of desirable studies is notably true, for example, in the history of science. At first glance one might ascribe to this dearth of materials the omission at times of problems or trends peculiar to a particular field. Actually, however, such omissions are consistent with the author’s concept of the social, as distinct from what might be called the technical, history of

thought. He disclaims any intention to trace the "interiors" of ideas or systems—presumably leaving this to specialists—and instead does a masterly job in relating the general outcomes in each field to the total cultural setting.

To a considerable degree, this distinction is both logical and useful. It would certainly be difficult to crowd into a study, already so comprehensive, such an analysis of "interiors" as is available in specialized histories of European art or science. Yet the distinction also raises perturbing questions. For one thing, it is difficult to follow consistently; the author seems at some points to get quite successfully on the "inside" of certain ideas. This can be observed, for example, in the discussion of pragmatism. But, in other cases, one misses just this sort of penetration. Thus the essential changes which characterized the shift from medieval to Renaissance forms in architecture, after 1700, could conceivably have been suggested in a relatively brief manner. More serious is the question whether, in omitting the internal history of arts and sciences, there is not some danger of overstressing the role of the surrounding culture and of overlooking the significance of developments peculiar to a given field? The impact of the social sciences on American life, for instance, may not have waited so much for the appearance of a generalized "frame of reference" like Darwinism as it did upon overcoming those difficulties with quantitative procedures which were inherent in these particular disciplines.

It is much easier to raise such questions, however, than it is to answer them. It may well be that any systematic treatment of the technical history of thought, however brief, would have distracted attention from the social orientation here intended. And few contemporary historians will question the significance of this orientation or the effective manner in which Professor Curti has achieved it. We are indebted to him for a splendid, over-all analysis, one that could scarcely be improved under present circumstances and which many had hardly hoped to see for years to come. In so doing he has not only given form to this field but has vindicated again the peculiar function of the general historian in providing major syntheses of human experience. It seems inconceivable that such an interpretation could have been produced by even the ablest of specialists.

University of Pennsylvania

RICHARD H. SHRYOCK

**FREEDOM'S FERMENT: PHASES OF AMERICAN SOCIAL HISTORY
TO 1860.** By *Alice Felt Tyler*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
1944. Pp. x, 608. \$5.00.)

ALTHOUGH Mrs. Tyler has employed narration and description rather than analysis and interpretation, she has, by the selection of her materials, by her treatment of them, and by the few explicit interpretations she has included, advanced a definite thesis. She maintains, briefly, that the exuberant and optimistic young American Republic was ready to listen to every new idea that promised to advance

human freedom and to protect the rights of the unfortunate. A fundamental faith in the right to be free, "rooted deep in democracy and evangelical religion, needed only to be coupled to nineteenth century faith in progress to produce a crusading zeal that swept men into all sorts of reform movements designed to perfect the institutions of contemporary society." Professor Tyler further maintains that American civilization was profoundly and permanently affected by all this restless ferment, this social experimentation, this faith that a future might be built in which no barriers checked the development of the full capacities of all individuals.

In developing her theme Professor Tyler eschews the pseudopsychological interpretations of certain earlier writers, and, while recognizing the foibles of many of the religious and humanitarian leaders, treats them with human sympathy and considerable insight. Her basic assumptions and scheme of values, implicit throughout the book, are made explicit in her statement that if this era of social ferment was "a little mad, a little confused about directions," it was always "full of optimism, of growth, and of positive affirmation."

Mrs. Tyler divides her book into three parts. In the first, "The Faith of the Young Republic," she sketches in broad outline the colonial and Revolutionary beginnings of "dynamic democracy" and of evangelical religion. In the second, "Cults and Utopias," one finds well-written, lucid, and succinct accounts of Transcendentalism, Millenarianism, Spiritualism, Mormonism, Shakerism, and other types of religious and utopian communism and socialism. The third part, "Humanitarian Reforms," gives concise but well-illustrated accounts of the movements for free public schools, prison reform, temperance, peace, the rights of women, and the abolition of slavery. Here are also treated Nativism and anti-Catholicism, "the denial of democratic principles." The movement for the abolition of capital punishment and that for public health reform, on which Professor Shryock has written authoritatively, are not made subjects for separate treatment.

Previous workers in this general field have chosen to study a given reform movement in the country as a whole (John A. Krout, Paul Monroe, Gilbert Barnes, Blake McKelvey, William F. Galpin, Merle Curti, and others); or they have written competent and sometimes brilliant biographies of religious and humanitarian leaders (William Waterman, Mason Wade, Arthur M. Schlesinger, jr., Helen Marshall, Henry S. Commager, Ralph Harlow, and others); or they have treated all the religious and reform movements in a particular community (David Ludlum, Niels Sonne, Robert Fletcher). Other movements of thought and social action which Mrs. Tyler includes, Nativism and democracy itself, have been the subject of important studies by Ray A. Billington and Ralph H. Gabriel. Mrs. Tyler gives generous recognition to all these and to other scholars. She has, however, explored a considerable portion of the primary materials for herself, as her unobtruding but useful annotation makes clear. Although this has enabled her to write with a liveliness and freshness of illustration, her evaluations in general follow those to be found in the earlier, specialized treatments. She does in

effect reject the overharsh condemnations of the reformers that have characterized the work of some writers whose sympathies have been enlisted in a defense of the Old South.

Professor Tyler for the most part gives due recognition to the point Arthur M. Schlesinger has insisted on with so much force, namely, that many American religious and humanitarian movements were phases of larger developments in western European culture. Her pages make it abundantly clear that only such recognition can enable one to understand the Ephrata Cloister, Shakerism, Transcendentalism, the movement for a more humane regard for the insane and for other handicapped people, and the activities of Eric Janson, Robert Owen, and the disciples of Fourier. The emphasis on evangelical religion and on the frontier is also in line with the best scholarship: the special characteristics of American evangelicism and of frontier life go far toward explaining how and why the American phases of these movements differed from their Old World counterparts. In the reviewer's judgment it is unfortunate that Professor Tyler has almost entirely omitted urbanism and the various social and economic tensions which accompanied it as an important social basis of much reformism.

Mrs. Tyler has not chosen to call attention to needed researches in the field. It is clear, however, that we ought to have further study of many of the religious and reform movements. It is also clear that we should know more about the inter-relations of the various movements. We also need further study of what may be called "the moderates," those who were influenced by and took some part in the movements under consideration but who did not become fully identified with them. Such studies are indispensable before it will be possible adequately to estimate the influence of these movements. Finally, we need to know much more than we do about the opposition to the various social movements which made the period "freedom's ferment." Sidney Jackson has shown how intense the opposition was to the movement for free public schools, and Parrington, of course, did much with the large theme. But a good deal remains to be done before we can fully understand the religious and reform movements themselves.

In the meantime the general student of American history will be much indebted to Mrs. Tyler's valuable achievement. And all who are in any way concerned with the values she has written about with so much tempered understanding will be grateful, especially at this time, for *Freedom's Ferment*. The unusually well-selected and well-reproduced illustrations add to the book's appeal.

University of Wisconsin

MERLE CURTI

AMERICAN FREETHOUGHT, 1860-1914. By *Sidney Warren*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 504.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. 257. \$3.25.)

THIS monograph on American free thought in the latter part of the nineteenth century follows one by Albert Post, previously published by the Columbia Uni-

versity Press and covering the years 1825-50. From the two monographs we have a fairly complete story of the American free-thought movement through the century.

The story of free thought in any era is interesting and important, for it shows the ideas of radical thinkers who often are building the foundations of the intellectual structure of later generations. And, when free thought is so defined as to include deism, agnosticism, atheism, and all other trends of thought opposed to religious orthodoxy, it is, as Allan Nevins says in the introduction to Dr. Warren's volume, a variegated narrative of many aspects.

Dr. Warren examines first, in his survey of the sources of modern free thought, the liberating influence of the Darwinian theories, and, among American thinkers who early accepted those theories in all their intellectual as well as biological implications, he pays high tribute to the historian and philosopher John Fiske. The legacy of transcendentalism is traced in the influence of Theodore Parker and Ralph Waldo Emerson, who prepared the way for the Free Religious Association of which the historian of transcendentalism, O. B. Frothingham, was the first president. The pre-Civil War reformers were well represented in Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Robert Dale Owen, Parker Pillsbury, and others with sociological interests, and they led the freethinkers into paths of social reform.

The author's careful analysis of the free-thought press makes very clear the origins of the various sections of free-thought theory and indicates the lines that free-thought opinion would take when faced with the social conditions of the late nineteenth century. Almost all freethinkers favored women's rights (pp. 127 ff.), and women were liberally represented in the offices of the free-thought press and societies. Most socialists were freethinkers, but by no means were all freethinkers socialists, nor were they all even moderately inclined toward labor in the early days of the struggles between capital and labor (pp. 154 ff.). The old iconoclast Robert Ingersoll, for instance, was an orthodox Republican in politics throughout his long career.

Socialists and freethinkers did agree on one important consideration, however, Dr. Warren makes clear. "They both contended that it was essential to maintain inviolate the separation of Church and State." To both of them the church, any organized church, seemed a reactionary force and the enemy of democratic institutions and intellectual freedom. The chapter on the American Secular Union and the other secularist activities of the freethinkers gives an excellent account of the narrow field in which the diverse elements of free-thoughtism could unite in a definite program. The book ends in a discussion of the minority left wing of the movement, atheism, and of the attack of the religious groups upon atheism, fastening the stigma of that name upon all free-thoughtism in their alarm over infidelity.

Dr. Warren, in summing up the achievements of this element in American intellectual life says that the freethinkers' constant activity in behalf of their doctrines did contribute to the liberalization of thought, for "they believed that

thinking should be unfettered, and as advocates of the scientific spirit of free inquiry, they helped advance the spirit of intellectual independancy."

The monograph is a thoughtful and interesting analysis of a little-known phase of American cultural development. The account of the leaders of the movement and of the trends of thought they represented should be of great interest to those who are working in social history. The bibliography is of especial value and is evidence of an exploration of many of the byways and vagaries of American thought.

University of Minnesota

ALICE FELT TYLER

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. By *Adrienne Koch*. [Number 14 of the Columbia Studies in American Culture.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. xiv, 208. \$2.50.)

In answer to Dr. Koch's introduction and many references taking this reviewer to task for his alleged denial that "Jefferson was a full-time thinker in the primary sense," or, in other words, that he was a philosopher in his own right, I shall simply refer the reader to the article I published in *Ethics*, LIII (July, 1943). Since the answer depends mainly on a question of definition, one may wonder whether the author has not devoted too much space and effort to the demonstration of a purely academic "thesis."

This point being disposed of, what remains is a very good analytical and critical study of the origins of Jefferson's ideas on the universe, man, and society. As shown by Dr. Koch, these ideas were derived from many sources, from the Epicurean and Stoic tradition to which later in life Jefferson added the teachings of Jesus, from the Baconian tradition, from Locke and the Scottish philosophers, Home Lord Kames, whose works influenced Jefferson in many fields, and later Dugald Stewart, whom he met in Paris. This explains how and why Jefferson found himself at home among the last of the French *philosophes*, who recognized the same masters, although he felt that he had very little to learn from his French friends. His attitude toward the Ideologues was very similar: he decidedly belonged to the same tradition as these continuators of the eighteenth century. He admired and translated and published Destutt de Tracy's *Commentaire sur l'esprit des Lois* and *Traité de la volonté*, but it must be remembered that he readily admitted, as late as 1816, "his three octavo volumes on Ideology which constitute the foundation of what he has since written, I have not entirely read, because I am not fond of reading what is merely abstract, and unapplied immediately to some useful science."

All through his life Jefferson followed the precept he had copied from Bolingbroke: "We must not assume for truth what can be proved neither a priori, nor a posteriori," but he applied this criterion to a limited number of problems, making every effort to dismiss from his mind questions that could not so be solved.

At all times he refused to be bound by any authority or to recognize any master, and with the French author he might have said, "*Je prends mon bien où je le trouve.*" He was, and proclaimed himself to be, a materialist when dealing with the sciences of nature; but when dealing with man he believed in the existence of a moral instinct, in natural rights, in responsibility, in perfectibility, and if he did not positively assert his faith in immortality he experienced and expressed several times a nostalgic yearning for such a faith. Dr. Koch is too honest a scholar and too good a student of Jefferson not to have included in her book all these contradictions which perhaps do not make Jefferson a great philosopher but make him very human.

The third part of her study, by far the best, deals with Jefferson's *Theory of Society*. There one will find a clear, compact, and critical analysis of Jefferson's ideas on human nature, on social progress, a study of his political relativism, and an excellent discussion of his theory of natural rights.

Princeton University

GILBERT CHINARD

ON THE INFLUENCE OF TRADES, PROFESSIONS, AND OCCUPATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE PRODUCTION OF DISEASE. By Benjamin W. McReady, M.D., 1837. With an Introductory Essay by Genevieve Miller. [Publications of the Institute of the History of Medicine, the Johns Hopkins University, Fourth Series, Bibliotheca Medica Americana, Volume IV.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1943. Pp. 129. \$1.75.)

THIS useful volume is a reprint of the prize-winning essay written in 1837 in competition for the award of the New York State Medical Society. Dr. McReady, then a medical practitioner only twenty-three years old, collected data for his dissertation through interviews with such New York City labor or trade organizations as he might reach, but through this channel he received scant information. To bolster this somewhat meager factual material he drew heavily on the volume by Thackrah and supplemented these sources by personal observations from the wards of the New York hospitals. The result is a collection of observations on the diseases that appeared to be associated with certain common occupations, professions, and trades of New York City around 1835.

It would be nice to believe that this essay, which now becomes readily available to the average reader, was representative of the prevailing thought of the period or that it had influenced subsequent thinking. In her introduction Miss Miller clearly indicates that such claims cannot be made for it. McReady, though later one of the leading physicians of New York City, was at the time too young to have his suggestions as to disease prevention heeded. In his plea for better working conditions he was to a high degree a voice crying in the wilderness. Though the Medical Society had shown unusual foresight in its selection of the topic for its

prize dissertation, it apparently did nothing to support the proposals to which it awarded its laurel. Such was not the practice of medical societies of that day.

The essay derives its chief merit and its chief claim to republication from the picture it draws of working conditions and diseases among the artisans of the period and as a reflection of at least one school of current medical thought. After an introductory section dealing with his concepts of the relationship between social conditions and disease, McReady analyzes a series of trades as encountered in New York. Among the factors to which he attributes major significance are posture at work, sedentary habits, housing conditions, the ventilation of the workshop, and, above all, intemperance. The stress that he attached to the last of these reflected more the extreme prohibition sentiments of the time than it did prevailing medical thought. Of particular interest is his formula for disease prevention as set forth in pages 66 and 67, a formula drawn in its essentials from Ramazzini and very little expanded in the present-day industrial programs.

In releasing Dr. McReady's essay from an enforced obscurity through the usual inaccessibility of old medical periodicals, Miss Miller and the Institute of the History of Medicine at the Johns Hopkins University have performed a real service and have maintained the high standards already set by earlier publications of this series.

Washington, D. C.

GAYLORD W. ANDERSON

HISTORICAL ATLAS OF THE UNITED STATES. By *Clifford Lord*, Director, New York State Historical Association, and *Elizabeth H. Lord*. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1944. Pp. xviii, 253. \$1.75.)

THE compilers of this valuable historical atlas realized that wise teachers of history always begin their work with "land and people"; hence the publication of this particular "established tool for students inside and outside of the classroom." The authors warn their readers that this compilation is not a reference atlas, and it is to be judged by their declared purpose.

There are 312 maps presented on 198 pages, which means often two and sometimes three maps to a page. This raises the question of clarity, which only the tests of use and experience can adequately answer. But in the opinion of this reviewer the shadings used in many of the maps are not sufficiently distinguishing for exact use, and often the scale of the map is too small for any more than a general impression. In Section I, "General Maps," No. 12, regionalized types of farming, is outstanding, and No. 15, Indian tribes, is least successful. In Section II, "Colonial Period," there are many familiar maps, and the four on page 29 best illustrate the limitation of such presentation. In Section III, "1775-1865," there is a great amount of material, which is to be expected; the population and nationality maps are the most familiar and the suffrage maps the most usable. Section IV, "1865-1941," contains the greatest number of hitherto little-used maps for pre-

senting social (prohibition, suffrage) and economic (cotton, wheat, cattle production) problems. Section V, "World Maps" (eight of them), shows most of all the need and difficulty of such map making for study purposes, and these are the least successful of all.

The authors point the way for further study, and in enumerating the sources from which they have drawn their materials they have given a succinct survey of the increase of our facilities for properly presenting not only the rapid growth and development of the United States but also the innumerable social and economic problems that have come to have such emphasis in our teaching. Familiar sources appear again and again, such as the admirable maps prepared by the Department of Agriculture and the better-known population maps from the census reports. Less-known sources of great value have also been used, such as highway maps prepared by the Bureau of Public Roads in the Federal Works Administration and maps of Federal land grants prepared and published by the Bureau of Corporations. Paullin's monumental *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* has been much used.

It is to be regretted that in the appendix on presidential elections tables were substituted for maps. Perhaps there was a good reason for this. But experience with such tables does not suggest great success as a teaching device for classroom use, except for reference, and reference is not the purpose of this atlas. Again, the dependence upon the reports of the national vote by states as reported to the clerk of the House of Representatives is surprising, in view of the fact that for the presidential elections (1896-1936) maps and tables (based upon official state votes) are available for all the states and for the minor parties by states.

A number of minor and for the most part obvious errors and omissions have been noted, and as it has been announced that a new edition is in immediate prospect, these will undoubtedly be corrected. We are deeply indebted to the authors for what has been termed the result of "over five years of intensive work and research."

Stanford University

EDGAR EUGENE ROBINSON

GUIDE TO MATERIALS FOR AMERICAN HISTORY IN THE LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES OF PARIS. *Waldo G. Leland*, General Editor. Volume II, ARCHIVES OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. By *Waldo G. Leland*, *John J. Meng*, and *Abel Doysié*. [Publication 392.] (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1943. Pp. xii, 1078. Cloth \$4.00, paper \$3.50.)

THE editor points out that ten years have already elapsed since the publication of the first volume on "Libraries" of this *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris* and thirty-five years since the inception of the historical "mission" to France of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The

mission of the great project, conceived by J. Franklin Jameson, of supplying American scholars with guides to manuscript materials for American history to be found in foreign archives and collections. The French guides are the last of this series to be completed. The present volume of the French guides is devoted to the materials in the archives of the ministry of foreign affairs, obviously one of the most important depositories in Paris. Other volumes of the *Guide* have been prepared, and their publication is now expected within a reasonable time. They will deal with the archives of the ministry of war, the hydrographic service, and the ministry of marine. Still later volumes will be concerned with the national archives, the ministry of the colonies, and minor depositories.

The volume under review is certainly a most important and significant aid for the study of American diplomatic history. Investigators in the field of Franco-American relations have been waiting patiently for it these thirty-five years. Even now, the editors explain, the tragic events of the last three years have made it impossible to complete some gaps in their notes. They have wisely gone ahead and issued a volume, listing on a page in their appendix the few gaps left, which are really insignificant. The *Guide* in its large dimensions was organized and initiated by the general editor, Mr. Leland, and carried far along the way by him with the assistance of Mr. Abel Doysié before greater responsibilities diverted Mr. Leland's energies from these labors, which were then continued by the very capable work of Professor John J. Meng. The present volume, printed by the offset process from typescript, contains a careful analysis of the three great *fonds* of the French foreign office: *Correspondance Politique*; *Correspondance Politique, Supplément*; and *Mémoires et Documents*.

The various national categories of these three *fonds* are analyzed volume by volume, according to their serial archival numbers. There is a thumbnail indication of subjects treated, with folio numbers. "Important documents" are particularly noted, when there is occasion. Material relating to America and the United States is listed with occasional reference to "other material" of some relevance. The editors also endeavor to indicate when and where any of this manuscript material has been printed. Their notations in this respect are sometimes a little in arrears, but not unreasonably so; it would be impossible under present unusual conditions to expect perfection. A shortcoming, also understandable, is the lack of an index. Volume I of this *Guide* was separately indexed, but this second volume and the volumes to follow will be indexed accumulatively when their publication is completed. It will be inconvenient for the reader to wait for the appearance in a later volume of an index to Volume II, and when the index is finally printed to have to consult it in a separate volume. This present volume of 1,078 pages is too thick to be held together durably by a paper binding. One secretarial misprint is the misspelling of *Correspondance Politique* in the captions at the top of even-numbered pages 830 to 866.

The Carnegie Institution is to be felicitated for the appearance at last of this

volume; the editors deserve applause for their persistence and labors; and American historical scholarship may well be congratulated upon the addition of this extraordinarily valuable aid to research. Let us hope that too many of the documents described in this *Guide* have not been destroyed during the present war. The New York *Herald Tribune* for August 20, 1940, contains an item stating that, after issue of a communiqué on May 16, 1940, by the French high command, saying that the Germans were advancing rapidly toward Laon, Premier Paul Reynaud told Ludwig Oscar Frossard, minister of information and propaganda, that the highest military authorities would not guarantee the security of the French capital after midnight. Functionaries of the French foreign office were then summoned at dawn, presumably of May 17th, and ordered to destroy the archives of the ministry! In the first article of the new newspaper *Le Mot d'Ordre*, continues this *Herald Tribune* account, Frossard described the destruction of the records:

The Quai d'Orsay seemed prey to a veritable fury of destruction. Enormous masses of documents were hurled out of the windows and burned on the lawn. Hundreds of curious spectators gathered on the banks of the Seine to view the lamentable spectacle. A huge cloud of smoke arose from the garden of the Quai. There was such haste that a fire broke out [presumably in the building itself] and it was necessary to call out the firemen.

This is what the French did themselves. There is no telling what the Germans may have done since then to any remaining documents. How fortunate it is for American historiography that the Library of Congress succeeded in getting such a great part of the Quai d'Orsay documents relating to American history photocopied before the war! These photocopies are now available and may even be consulted by interlibrary loan facilities. In the volume of the *Guide* at hand there is an appendix indicating the photocopied material in the Library of Congress.

Yale University

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

INTERNATIONAL BEARINGS OF AMERICAN POLICY. By *Albert Shaw*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1943. Pp. x, 492. \$3.50.)

THE author of this unusual volume has been for a full sixty years a potent personal influence in American journalism and in public life. Having been among the fortunate few who were privileged to enjoy the advantage of graduate study at Johns Hopkins University in its early days, under the tutelage of Herbert B. Adams and Richard Ely and the even more stimulating comradeship of fellow students such as Woodrow Wilson, Frederick J. Turner, J. Franklin Jameson, Charles H. Haskins, and John R. Commons, he went from that university to a position as editorial writer on an influential newspaper in a Middle Western city. Seven years later he established the *American Review of Reviews*. As its editor for nearly fifty years he observed closely, reported candidly, and commented

judiciously upon public affairs, paying especial attention to the field of international relations. It may be safely asserted that no living American has a better right to lay before the public his personal appraisal of the relation the United States has borne to the international world during his lifetime.

Dr. Shaw describes his book as "essentially one of reminiscence" and the point of view as "always frankly personal." Readers will probably find in these qualities their greatest interest in the book. They will be anxious to discover the author's matured opinion about the importance and the right or wrong of the part played by the United States in this or that transaction about which they feel a special concern. Some surprises await them. Dr. Shaw thinks that Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points represented "the most advanced formulation of international principles ever effectively agreed upon in the history of the world" (p. 7). They may well be even more surprised to be told that "the United States—far from being antagonistic in declining to occupy a place at Geneva—was the only power that ever really belonged to the League in the full sense of sympathy, understanding, and co-operative spirit" (p. 8).

The book is a collection of twenty articles rather than a continuous narrative. Each article deals with a distinct topic, but in many of them matters rather remote from the main theme are introduced. In consequence, the reader by using the index can usually find some account of almost every important transaction in international affairs since about 1870, particularly if the United States was in any degree or way involved.

In tone and manner the book is marked by the same qualities long familiar to readers of the *Review of Reviews*. Despite frequent disclaimers of any intention to pontificate, it has an air of near omniscience which will irritate or amuse the reader. There is also a marked propensity to make it appear that whatever course the United States took was the one which ought to have been pursued.

Dartmouth College

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON

WINTHROP PAPERS. Volume III, 1631-1637. Edited by *Allyn Bailey Forbes*. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1943. Pp. xl, 544. \$5.00.)

THE publication of the third volume of the *Winthrop Papers* again calls attention to the project on which the Massachusetts Historical Society has long been working, the publication of the entire body of the Winthrop Manuscripts in chronological arrangement. The first two volumes, appearing in 1929 and 1931, testified to the importance of that task, and the new volume, covering the years 1631-37, more than bears out the earlier promises. While there is much material on important crises and problems like Indian wars, the planting of new settlements, agitations of Roger Williams in regard to doctrine, land tenure, and the policy of enslaving captive Indians, most of the letters are on the details of everyday life for Puritans in England and in Massachusetts Bay.

The early part of the volume reflects a natural concern on the part of friends of the new enterprise as to whether the plantation would survive the first experimental years. When favorable reports began to come in, these friends rejoiced, and many turned their thoughts to transporting themselves to Massachusetts. Emmanuel Downing wrote Winthrop that it "was the Iudgement of most men here, that your Colonye would this winter be dissolved partly by death through want of Food, howsing and rayment, and the rest to retorne or to flee for refuge to other plantacions." But within two years Downing's friends reported that he was "neuer better nor merrier then when he is talkinge of N:E:" and was eager to "goe over." Gradually wives and families began to join their relatives in New England and by their letters home to add to the enthusiasm for this new enterprise in pioneering. How much the survival of the plantation owed to this constant influx of settlers with their provisions is shown by a letter of Winthrop's in 1634 in which he says, "For Our Subsistence heere, the meanes hetherto hath beene the yearly access of new Commers, who have supplied all our wants, for Cattle, and the fruits of our labours, as boarde, pale, smithes work etc."

One of the most interesting topics dealt with is the account of the preparations of John Winthrop, jr., for his passage to New England in 1631 and the shipping of goods desired by his father and others for the plantation, provisions of various kinds, household goods, tools and arms, trees and shrubs, garden seeds, herbs, medical supplies, and books. Hounded by piecemeal financing of the goods he was arranging for, by last-minute instructions from merchants concerning goods for sale, and by farewell letters from family and friends, he was at last off to share in the heaviest burdens of leadership in the planting of new settlements in New England.

The importance of this material for the understanding of early New England cannot be overestimated. It is designed for the use of scholars, but the casual reader will enjoy it for its human interest.

Mount Holyoke College

VIOLA F. BARNES

THE REVOLUTIONARY GENERATION, 1763-1790. By *Evarts Boutell Greene*, Dewitt Clinton Professor of American History, Emeritus, Columbia University. [A History of American Life, Volume IV.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1943. Pp. xvii, 487. \$4.00.)

PROFESSOR Greene through his teaching and published writings has made a reputation in the field of American colonial history. The present volume is divided evenly between the thirteen years preceding and an equal length of time after the Declaration of Independence, that is, in the period of our national history. Yet the editors' foreword refers to it as "harvesting the fruits of a lifetime of study." There will be no quarreling with that characterization if it is understood to mean the habits and discipline of a lifetime, for this is the work of a scholar. That is the

first impression made upon the reader and deepens with every page. It even grows to the point of irritation, especially in the opening chapters, when the author refuses to generalize because the data are insufficient, and one has to be content with an occasional revealing sentence or a short summarizing paragraph.

The next impressions are of amazement and admiration at the bewildering complexity of the data gathered out of a wide variety of sources upon an equal variety of subjects. The account ranges from ministers and teachers to tailors and hairdressers, and from farmers' crops and fishermen's catches to the notions on sale in city shops. Everything seems to be here except politics, which the purpose of the series deliberately eliminates.

Methodically, and with meticulous care, the author presents the material he has selected on each topic—for New England, for the South, and for the Middle Colonies or States. In the same careful way the several chapters treat of "the Old World in the New," agriculture, business, social relations, religion, culture, and the frontiers, both before and after the Revolution. Where he is unwilling to generalize, Professor Greene's ability and training have enabled him to grasp and present his material more effectively on the whole than has been accomplished in any other volume of the series.

Such a presentation does not make for easy reading, especially when the author's scholarly conscience forces him to phrase each sentence so that it could, if necessary, be defended in a court of law. The book then is primarily for students who cannot fail to profit by the amount of information compiled for their benefit. But the student, or the casual reader if he persists, reaps a greater reward. Chapters viii and ix, "Emerging Americanism" and "The Parting of the Ways," portray conditions as none but a master can draw them, yet may be appreciated in their full significance only by one who has followed the preceding specification of the particulars that are embodied in the design. It is a story of growth, of slowly emerging nationality, and the reviewer shares the editors' belief that "no one before Professor Greene has attempted so fully to synthesize the whole experience of the people."

The tenth chapter, entitled "Soldier and Civilian," is in some ways the most remarkable of all, as in brief compass it enables one to gain a clear understanding of the course of the War of the American Revolution without description of battles or any of the ordinary details of military history.

All this is high praise, but the book deserves it. It is a credit to the author and is instinct with the quality of which the editors must have dreamed when "A History of American Life" was planned.

The timeliness of the series and the interest in these aspects of history are indicated by the fact that since the manuscript left the author's hands more than one notable work has appeared, bearing upon some aspect of the subject. None of these, probably, would have changed Professor Greene's presentation beyond including some possible additional data, and what is much to be desired, an evalua-

tion of the works themselves in his scholarly and helpful "Critical Essay on Authorities."

The volume is printed in the same clear, readable form as the rest of the series. The illustrations are excellent, although one cannot escape the feeling that the editors selected 240 pictures to enliven the whole series and that twenty of those were considered appropriate for this particular volume. This is a more plausible explanation than that they were chosen by the author to elucidate points made in the text. The descriptions of the plates by the editors are beyond criticism, as they give exactly what one wishes to know regarding each illustration and its source. It is regrettable that the plates are not numbered as they appear in the text and that the descriptions are not placed in conjunction with them but are gathered in pages ix-xiv of the introductory matter, making reference to them annoying and sometimes confusing. But this is a minor defect and may be readily overlooked in a volume and a series deserving rich praise.

Bar Harbor, Maine

MAX FARRAND

THE WAR GOVERNORS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Margaret Burnham Macmillan*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 503.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1943. Pp. 309. \$3.50.)

War Governors in the American Revolution is another in the long series of monographs on colonial and Revolutionary history which have been inspired by the seminars of Herbert L. Osgood and Evarts B. Greene at Columbia University. It is a substantial, carefully executed piece of scholarship and explores the contributions made by the governors of the new states to the war effort. The reaction of Revolutionary times against governors has been dutifully followed by subsequent historians, for there are biographies of only two or three, and nowhere except in this volume is there any serious attempt to appraise their war services.

The thirteen chapters cover the establishment of the office in the early days of the Revolution and the subsequent activities of the governors. The administration of the internal affairs of the states, the relations with the Continental Congress and the Continental Army, the defense of the state through the militia, the aid in furnishing supplies, and legislative and political activities are treated in separate chapters. The method of the book is to catalogue these activities in topical fashion, and the principal sources are the printed writings of the governors. Manuscript material was not used because the author felt that the printed sources were adequate.

The method undoubtedly establishes the amount of activity. The quality of that activity and its relative importance are less clearly demonstrated except for a few of the men, but there is sufficient evidence to prove Mrs. Macmillan's principal contention that the services of the governors were important to the success of the American cause.

No legal or constitutional authority accounted for what influence and success the governors had. The personal prestige, gained through long years of public service, of the successful governor was worth far more than his constitutional authority. For the most part, the men who took these burdensome offices were men of integrity and position in colonial society, and the personal costs of office-holding were high. Fortune, health, comforts, and the happiness of family life were sacrificed by many a governor just as by many a military leader. "My family for these four years past," wrote William Livingston in 1780, "have not had fourteen days of my assistance."

So important, indeed, were the personal aspects of the governor's work that more attention to the private papers, many still in manuscript form, and to the personalities of the governors themselves would have added life to the book. It is still a credit to the author and to her training.

Vanderbilt University

PHILIP DAVIDSON

QUEBEC TO CAROLINA IN 1785-1786; BEING THE TRAVEL DIARY AND OBSERVATIONS OF ROBERT HUNTER, JR., A YOUNG MERCHANT OF LONDON. Edited by *Louis B. Wright* and *Marion Tinling*. [Huntington Library Publications.] (San Marino: Huntington Library. 1943. Pp. ix, 393. \$5.00.)

This work presents the greater part of the journal of Robert Hunter, jr., a young man just reaching his majority, who in the years 1785 and 1786 traveled from Quebec to Niagara Falls and back and from there to Charleston, South Carolina. Since the treaties of peace had provided for the collection of prewar debts due British creditors by American debtors, Hunter's father, a Scotch merchant with extensive business interests in America, had, in a spirit of undue optimism, commissioned his agent Caleb Blanchard to look after his overseas claims. Young Hunter was to accompany the agent—mainly for the experience of travel. In his journal he recorded his daily observations and experiences on his long journeys.

Owing to his influential connections and to the letters of introduction he carried, he was everywhere cordially received in the highest social circles. In New York he was dined (and probably wine) by a Mr. "Rosawelt," who introduced him to Richard Henry Lee, then president of Congress. He was also on very friendly terms with a Mr. "Dellanoe." He was cordially welcomed as a guest at Mount Vernon by Washington, whom he regarded as "the first man in the world." He even "had the honor of being lighted up to my [his] room by the General himself."

Important contributions of the work are the accounts of the Loyalists, or Tories, in the St. Lawrence Valley and of the manner of living of the wealthy

class in all sections of the new republic. The general reader (including this reviewer) learns with surprise how numerous were the Loyalists in Canada and to what hardships they were subjected in adjusting themselves to their new surroundings. We are confirmed in the impression that travel by stagecoach was very uncomfortable and often dangerous, owing to the recklessness of the drivers in skirting deep gullies and steep precipices. We are again told of the beauty, charm, and ease of manner of the patrician ladies who graced the homes of the city merchant princes and the Virginia planters. While Hunter was extravagant in his praise of the young women of the Northern cities, his greatest admiration was reserved for a distant cousin, Kate Flood McCall, the daughter of a wealthy Virginia planter; but he felt that his romantic feeling for her was not reciprocated.

After leaving the McCall mansion at the end of a protracted visit, he journeyed through southern Virginia and the Carolinas to Charleston, but this part of his diary is of little value. It is concerned mainly with the insufferable discomfort of the inns, the noise of bullfrogs, the torture inflicted by mosquitoes, and the barrenness and drabness (probably exaggerated) of the countryside.

This is one of the most readable of the numerous books written about our ancestors by foreign travelers. The editors have appended to the narrative numerous explanatory notes which greatly aid us in identifying the persons mentioned. Large print and a suitable format give the volume an attractive appearance.

West Virginia University

O. P. CHITWOOD

ALEXANDER JAMES DALLAS: LAWYER—POLITICIAN—FINANCIER, 1759–1817. By *Raymond Walters, jr.* [Pennsylvania Lives.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp. vi, 251. \$2.50.)

ALEXANDER James Dallas, according to the author of this biography (p. 5), "holds a secure place as one of the first-rate men of secondary rank in the early days of the American republic." Hitherto the only published biography of this "first-rate" man of "secondary rank" was that written by his son, George Mifflin Dallas (*Life and Writings of A. J. Dallas* [Philadelphia, 1871]), which Mr. Walters properly characterizes as "little more than an appreciative sketch" (p. 240).

The organization, content, and style of this little volume are excellent. They fully justify the jacket statement of the publishers and the introduction by Professor Asa E. Martin, whose last paragraph is in itself an accurate and excellent description of the volume. This is a scholarly and readable biography. Raymond Walters, jr., well identified in educational circles by his name, has succeeded in "integrating" the life and accomplishments of Dallas with those of his contem-

poraries, and he has enriched the history of the first quarter of a century after 1789. All this was a matter of difficulty, for the life of Dallas involved intricate problems of law, politics, and finance in such a combination as to make the writing of his biography peculiarly arduous research and composition.

Correct emphasis on Dallas as the central theme is a worthy feature of this biography. In this fundamental respect the author has been notably successful. Dallas, as immigrant, editor, Philadelphia lawyer, legal reporter, secretary of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, leader of Jeffersonianism in Pennsylvania, associate of businessmen, Secretary of the United States Treasury, and faithful servant of his country, becomes a clear-cut figure.

The "Pennsylvania Lives" series is obviously intended for the general reader. Though its volumes are based on sound scholarship, they are not intended primarily for scholarly professional historians. *Alexander James Dallas* fully meets the standards of the series. But to some, including the reviewer, the lack of any footnotes is a serious shortcoming. Again and again significant statements are made without indication of the location of the proofs. The meager bibliography, less than five full pages, is no substitute for adequate footnotes. The bibliography does not contain important items on this period written by Pennsylvania authors in recent years. As a result western Pennsylvania party politics and the Whiskey Insurrection are not given due emphasis. The reviewer was also disappointed in not finding a fuller revelation of Alexander Hamilton's role in regard to John Jay's famous treaty.

This volume should find a wide sale both inside and outside Pennsylvania. It is well bound and printed. Students of the history of the United States and Pennsylvanians, in particular, are indebted to the author and his publishers.

University of Pittsburgh

ALFRED P. JAMES

MIRROR FOR AMERICANS: LIKENESS OF THE EASTERN SEABOARD, 1810. By *Ralph H. Brown*, University of Minnesota. [American Geographical Society, Special Publication No. 27.] (New York: American Geographical Society. 1943. Pp. xxxii, 312. \$4.00.)

THIS is an attractive and important book. The first essential for any understanding of it is a clear view of the author's purpose. The foggy, ingenious title may pique curiosity and win a belated smile of approval, but it gives no initial clue to the content. Professor Brown states that he intends the *Mirror* to be a short cut to an understanding of American geography in 1810. He has carefully searched out and studied contemporary sources, made selections from them, and synthesized them with brevity and balance. As a scheme of presentation he chose to "evoke an American [Christop] Ebling in the guise of an imaginary Thomas

Pownall Keystone," a man "to epitomize . . . the geographical fraternity of his generation."

In the prologue Mr. Brown, in a clever and informative manner, introduces T. P. Keystone and his plans for a concise account of the seaboard, and then modest Mr. Brown retires—and so does Mr. Keystone. Mr. Keystone writes the next 247 pages, but that well-disciplined gentleman never protrudes himself. We wish he had said more of his own experiences with snow and mud, wheat and indigo, and Indians and sea captains. If Mr. Keystone was too reticent, then Mr. Brown might have told his story. Since Mr. Keystone of 1810 has done the writing, the reader is denied the benefit of the critical judgment of Mr. Brown of 1943. The method of presentation also enhances the opportunity for confusion of "what was" and "what was believed to have been."

Within the limits of his purpose and his mode of presentation Professor Brown has fashioned a remarkable book, perhaps the first American historical geography of a region. The basic organization follows the well-tested pattern of natural traits, population, ways of travel, and ways of making a living. Then, exactly half way through his description, Mr. Keystone turns to a more minute examination of particular areas: border regions, inlands of New York, southern New England, eastern Pennsylvania, Chesapeake country, and the Carolina low country.

There will be few who will disagree seriously with Professor Brown's judgment on matters of inclusion, exclusion, and emphasis. What might appear to be omissions are explained. For example, he slights eastern New York and eastern Massachusetts because much has been written on those areas, and he passes lightly over New Jersey because contemporary observations were so few. Nearly every reader will find passages that will strike him forcibly because the subject matter is little known or because of the skill of presentation. This reader has a liking for the paragraphs on weather (pp. 13-21), the section on canals (pp. 56-61), that on Florida settlements (pp. 145-52), that on tidewater and swamps of Maryland and Virginia (pp. 215-19), and that on low-country plantation agriculture (pp. 238-47).

The book is provided with an extensive select list of titles and with thirty-eight pages of finely printed notes that in some degree compensate for the lack of critical comment in the text itself. The format of the book, with its maps and pen drawings, some by Mrs. Brown, is so attractive that it entices even those who have no interest in the subject matter. As for the language, no doubt Mr. Keystone was universally admired in 1810 for his correct and attractive style, but we prefer that of Mr. Brown. There are few novelties of content and no theses are developed. While the presentation can be criticized, it probably does supplement the scholarship and detachment to contribute to the book a timeless quality that will make it as useful in the next decades as in this one.

The National Archives

GUY A. LEE

JAMES MOORE WAYNE: SOUTHERN UNIONIST. By *Alexander A. Lawrence*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1943. Pp. xiv, 250. \$3.00.)

THERE are few less grateful tasks for a writer than to undertake a biography of a judge. In the first place, the nature of the judicial office, with its necessary aloofness from public events and personal contacts, does not lend itself to colorful writing. In the second place, few judges leave behind them correspondence, diaries, or other comments on their cases and judicial associates that might constitute a real addition to legal history. It is only rarely that the intimate correspondence of a Story, a Miller, or a Holmes becomes later available to a biographer, or, if available, contains much of revelatory interest. In Justice Wayne's case the biographer has been hampered by the almost complete destruction or disappearance of his correspondence and other records, which, as Mr. Lawrence frankly admits, might "transmute into flesh and blood the shadows which alone one glimpses of the genteel old Southerner in the pageant of wartime Washington."

Wayne was forty-five years old when he took the oath as a Supreme Court justice on January 14, 1835. His appointment was received with little enthusiasm, though with little condemnation, by the bar and the politicians. He had previously had a creditable, though not particularly distinguished, career at the Georgia bar and on its court; he had been active in Unionist politics in that state; and he had served in Congress from 1830 to 1835 as a strong supporter of President Jackson. On the Supreme Court he sat for thirty-two years, until his death on July 5, 1867 (only four justices have served as long).

It cannot be said that his opinions influenced in any very marked degree the development of the law of the Constitution, except possibly in admiralty and corporate citizenship cases. His chief importance in the history of the United States has two causes. First, it was Wayne who finally persuaded the court to pass on the merits of the Dred Scott case (instead of confining itself simply to a point of jurisdiction), in the disastrous belief that the court could quiet all agitation on the subject of slavery in the territories by affirming that Congress had no constitutional power to prohibit its introduction. (Incidentally, this book contains an unusual and interesting photograph of Dred Scott himself.) In the second place, it was Wayne whose lifelong strong Unionist views caused him, though a Southerner from Georgia, to remain on the court while his associate from Alabama, Justice Campbell, resigned to enter the Confederate service and his own son served in the Confederate Army. It is this latter phase of Wayne's career which this book very rightly emphasizes, for the patriotic courage which it required deserves to be better known to the present generation and amply justifies the biography itself.

In summing up Wayne's career, the author makes the refreshing admission (unusual with many biographers as to the subjects of their enthusiasm) that (p. 112) "dead judges are seldom less than learned and eminent, and posthumous

estimates are scarcely the place to look for the hard facts of judicial worth"; and (p. 215) "among contemporaries he did not pass current as either a great man or a great lawyer, and history cannot raise that evaluation." The author evidently does not accept at their face value all the unstinted and uncritical praise so often given to deceased judges in the resolutions of the bar. By reason of its candor, therefore, this book is of value to the student of legal history. And regardless of the exact position to which Wayne's legal abilities may entitle him, there is one feature in his career by which the reader will be attracted—his engaging personality, a feature the value of which, in its marked influence upon the discussions between a justice's associates in the conference room, is often overlooked. The evidently sincere tributes by his contemporaries to his delightful personal qualities, his kindness and courtesy, and his sense of justice are strong evidence of the effect of his presence on the court and afford a considerable justification for his appointment.

Washington, D. C.

CHARLES WARREN

BEHIND THE LINES IN THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY. By *Charles W. Ramsdell*. Edited with a Foreword by *Wendell H. Stephenson*. [The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, Louisiana State University.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1944. Pp. xxi, 136. \$2.00.)

It would be less than the truth, not to say an injustice, to call this thin volume the fruit of thirty years of work on the history of the Confederacy. These three lectures were delivered in 1937 and scheduled for immediate publication, yet at the time of his death in 1942 Professor Ramsdell was still withholding the manuscript from the publisher for that final revision which the perfectionist in him could never call complete. Published posthumously, without the author's final revision, they constitute a distinctive contribution, but more than that they serve as a reminder of the loss that Southern history suffered because of the inhibiting modesty of a fine scholar.

It was Professor Ramsdell's belief that accepted explanations for Southern failure were "insufficient because they overlook the disintegration and collapse that took place behind the Confederate lines." He was quick to acknowledge that there was no single key to the problem of that internal breakdown. He was aware that many of the contributory causes were difficulties that the wartime Union had as well as the Confederacy, evils that seem concomitants of war in all times: engrossment, extortion, profiteering, hoarding, inflation. Some of the Confederate problems have a distinctly contemporary ring, especially "cost-plus" war contracts and their consequent "renegotiation," the drafting of essential industrial workers, draft evasion and the question of the "exempts," shipping priorities and transportation congestion. Other and more serious difficulties were peculiar to

Meserve and Sandburg: Photographs of Abraham Lincoln 755

the Confederacy—railroad systems with eleven different gauges, for example, not to mention appalling industrial deficiencies.

The methods by which the Confederate and state governments attempted to solve these problems were remarkable for the complete break they made with the traditions and the whole political philosophy of the Southern people. Nothing in Southern doctrine and precedent could be cited in support of legislation for crop control, price stabilization, profit taxes, impressment, and state-owned industries; yet Southerners accepted them all. Government control of railroads and of foreign trade was too little and too late. It was the author's opinion that "it would have required a miracle of statesmanship to solve these difficulties."

Professor Ramsdell placed particular emphasis on Confederate finance. "If I were asked what was the greatest single weakness of the Confederacy," he wrote, "I should say, without much hesitation, that it was in this matter of finance." He added that he did not know how the problem could have been solved and asked: "How was it possible for this debtor section to accumulate a supply of gold large enough for its needs, or to keep treasury notes at par?" In these days of managed currency, such conclusions, and especially the emphasis upon gold, will seem somewhat odd. The author contended that modern expedients of economic control were not politically possible in the Confederacy. It can hardly be doubted, however, that had Professor Ramsdell enjoyed the hindsight provided by the seven years of war and peace that have elapsed since he delivered these lectures, he would have modified his conclusions somewhat.

Professor Stephenson's admirable foreword and his bibliography of Ramsdell's writings give the book something of the character of a memorial volume that makes it the more welcome.

Washington, D. C.

C. VANN WOODWARD

THE PHOTOGRAPHS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN. By *Frederick Hill Meserve* and *Carl Sandburg*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1944. Pp. 30, illustrations. \$3.50.)

THIS book contains printed reproductions of 120 photographs of Abraham Lincoln, the negatives of which are in the important collection of Frederick Hill Meserve. To these, Carl Sandburg has added about forty pen pictures from his vast collection of *Lincolniana*, some being terse, vivid descriptions written hurriedly while the impression of a first meeting was still fresh. Others are the result of laboriously conscientious recording after years of acquaintance. A third section of the book shows likenesses of eighty prominent Americans who were Lincoln's contemporaries.

The odd thing about these pictures of Lincoln is that not one of them, made by the pen or by the sun, is satisfactory. All dwell on the physical side of the man—his tall, gaunt body, his unruly hair, and so on. Only a few even hint at

the spirit of the man dwelling in that body—the compassionate gentleness, the smile that could change the brooding melancholy of his face into a pool of laughter, the flashing wit, illuminating his face as lightning illumines heavy clouds.

One reason doubtless is that, although President Lincoln was the most photographed man of his day, photography was not yet the all-pervasive instantaneous thing it has since become. Sitting for one's portrait was still something of an ordeal—a matter of slow-moving seconds during which the victim's head was held rigid by an iron support and his expression drained slowly away, while the photographer, with eyes glued to the dial of his watch, counted and waited until the necessary time had elapsed.

The real wonder is that under these conditions the collection of sun pictures is no worse. As for the pen pictures, they reveal quite as often the character of the writer as of the man they describe. At first glance people were apt to see in Lincoln's face what they expected to find there. A moment later they felt a warm glow of respect and admiration for him, sometimes against their will.

Perhaps the best of the pen pictures quoted here, as it is certainly one of the shortest, came from the pen of David R. Locke, a newspaperman and professional humorist, better known under his pseudonym, Petroleum Vesuvius Nasby, who wrote with deep conviction, "I never saw a more dignified face. I never saw so sad a face." Lincoln's private secretary, John G. Nicolay, summed up the whole matter by saying, "There are many pictures of Lincoln. There is no portrait of him."

Never before has such a comprehensive collection been brought within reach of the general public, though for some years a few great libraries have possessed a very expensive volume containing many of these same pictures, its illustrations being actual photographs printed from the negatives in Mr. Meserve's collection.

One thing the volume emphatically does, and that is to record history. One can almost follow the varying fortunes of battle during the Civil War in the lines of care etched on Mr. Lincoln's aging face. To turn suddenly from a photograph of the presidential candidate, made in 1860, to the last pictures, taken in April, 1865, is to realize as never before the toll five years of anxiety and suffering took from his gaunt, strong frame.

Washington, D. C.

HELEN NICOLAY

THE WHITESMITHS OF TAUNTON: A HISTORY OF REED & BARTON, 1824-1943. By *George Sweet Gibb*, Research Assistant in Business History, Graduate School of Business Administration, George F. Baker Foundation, Harvard University. [Harvard Studies in Business History, VIII, edited by N. S. B. Gras.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1943. Pp. xxxiii, 419. \$3.00.)

This book is a straightforward and ably written history of the Reed and Barton Company from its beginnings in 1824 to the present. This Taunton, Massa-

chusetts, firm began as a manufacturer of Britannia ware, from 1860 to 1890 engaged primarily in producing silver-plated products, and in recent decades has concentrated increasingly on sterling silverware. Never a relatively large manufacturing establishment, it has always been an important firm in its field. Business historians have paid too little attention to the growth of small manufacturing plants and have largely neglected the development of hollow and flatware manufacturing. The choice of this subject for a volume in the "Harvard Studies in Business History" is, therefore, especially welcome.

As one expects of any study prepared under the editorship of Gras, this book places emphasis on the stages of historical development. The author finds that for this company the chief problems in the years before 1860 lay in production and improvements in technique, that from 1860 to 1900 marketing problems were of dominant importance, and that since 1900 financial management has been the major concern. This emphasis on stages provides a unifying thread to the exposition and fortunately does not prevent the author from presenting a well-rounded picture of the development of the firm. Technology, artistic design, labor policies, marketing, sales, and promotion policies, financing and operating results, management, and leadership are all covered with laudable balance and thoroughness. Emphasis is placed on the development of marketing organization and promotional activities, and a considerable contribution is made to our general knowledge in this field. Of especial interest are the emphasis on the part played by traveling salesmen and the description of the trade catalogue as a promotional device.

The development of the Britannia and silverware industry as illustrated by the history of Reed and Barton will give little comfort to those who seek proof of the major influence of the West on American economic development. Quite the opposite, for at least down to very recent years the dominant influence has been English. In fact, Gibb shows that both in manufacturing technique and in design an almost slavish dependence on England was the rule.

Change of management is shown to have been infrequent for this company. It took place usually only when the older generation retired from business and the younger took its place. After early difficulties in getting started, Reed and Barton has had a remarkable history of continuous operation and solid prosperity. Their financial position has remained strong and the company has grown, not phenomenally but steadily, with the country. The net worth of the firm, which was only \$2,000 in 1824, was over \$1,500,000 in 1943. Of this increase 86 per cent came from reinvested earnings of the company.

One of the most difficult tasks confronting the historian of a business concern is to account for the financial success or failure of the establishment. Gibb finds the secret of success for Reed and Barton to have been caution, conservative policy, and refusal to experiment in untried fields. Of course, other authors have not infrequently ascribed business success to boldness, aggressive policy, and willingness to experiment in untried fields. The reviewer is puzzled. He is reminded of

the story of the two centenarians who lived side by side, one of whom attributed his longevity to faithful drinking of hard liquor and the other to total abstinence. Possibly both were right.

Amherst College

GEORGE R. TAYLOR

THE URBAN IMPACT ON AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM, 1865-1900.

By *Aaron Ignatius Abell*, Professor of History in Nazareth College, Rochester, New York. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LIV.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1943. Pp. x, 275. \$3.75.)

THE preface states that this is "a generalized study of the religious and social effects of urban development on American Protestantism," but it lacks the sociological data which one is thus led to expect. More precisely, it is a historical account of opinions, purposes, organizations, and methods emergent in more or less close connection with the effort of the Protestant churches to meet the new conditions created by rapid urban and industrial growth. The first four chapters add little that is distinctive or important to the story, which has been more fully told in C. H. Hopkins' *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915*. Succeeding chapters give details concerning the Salvation Army, institutional churches, city missions, various auxiliary forms of Protestant social service, and the beginnings of the teaching of social ethics in the Protestant seminaries. The book is marred by the initial assumption—quite unnecessary as well as untrue—that the Protestant churches were concerned with spiritual regeneration only, had no social program, and were uninterested in the poor, as contrasted with the Roman Catholic church, which "stressed ministry to the poor" and had "an excellent social program." The details of the Roman Catholic program are set down as "careful pastoral oversight, fund-raising abroad, the founding of schools and philanthropic institutions, and after 1880 a vigorous Americanization movement."

There are some slips: the biographer of J. H. W. Stuckenberg was not "Ovjen" but Evjen; the Open and Institutional Church League is constantly referred to as "Open or Institutional"; and the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America is called the "Federation of the Churches." Mrs. Horace Bushnell is referred to as "an ex-clergyman's wife," which must be taken to mean the widow of a minister, since Bushnell never became an "ex-clergyman."

The basic defect of the work is that it takes 1900 as the close of the period to be studied and brings its account to an end just when the most interesting and important things were about to happen. The amazing statements are made that "with the launching of the Brotherhood of the Kingdom [in 1892], Protestant organizational activity for the general purpose of joining religion and social reform neared the end," and "by 1900 the Protestants were nearing the limits of co-operation." The truth is that a period of wider and more effective Protestant co-operation was opening at the turn of the century. In 1900 the National Federation

of Churches and Christian Workers was founded, which led in 1905 to the planning and in 1908 to the organization of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. In 1908 the Home Missions Council also was organized. Through these two nation-wide organizations the social gospel gained a permanent place in the life of the Protestant churches, and new ways of dealing co-operatively with the problems of the city were found. Since then state and local federations of churches have multiplied. One can forgive the author for not pressing on into the great body of material of which H. Paul Douglass' *Protestant Cooperation in American Cities* is typical, but it is a mistake to stop the story at 1900, and it is sheer nonsense to assert that in that year Protestants were nearing the limits of co-operation.

Yale University

LUTHER A. WEIGLE

THE HOLMANS OF VERAESTAU. By *Israel George Blake*, Franklin College.
[Men of America, Volume IV.] (Oxford: Mississippi Valley Press. 1943.
Pp. 280. \$3.50.)

THE Holmans were pioneer political leaders in Indiana during the nineteenth century. Jesse Lynch Holman (1786-1842) settled on the Ohio River, twenty miles below Cincinnati. Here the young attorney, who had read law in Henry Clay's office, built his home, "Veraestau"—a word coined from parts of three Latin words—*ver*, spring; *aestas*, summer; and *autumnus*, autumn. He became a state legislator, judge of the state supreme court, Federal district judge, and was one of the founders of Franklin College, Indiana University, the Historical Society of Indiana, and the Western Baptist Sabbath School Society.

Professor Blake's forty-page account of his life is the best in print. It suffers from the paucity of contemporary sources available. Consequently, the author relied largely upon county and local histories and on previous biographical sketches from which he quotes too frequently. His own excellently written conclusion on page 220, for example, is much more effective than his closing on page 232, where he leans on the words of another who knows less about the subject. Footnote references to such works have little value when their titles are listed in a bibliography. It would be better to quote the United States census reports than Banta's *History of Johnson County* for the number of mills, looms, distilleries, etc., in Indiana in a given year (p. 2). One wonders why manuscript collections, newspapers, and published sources were not given the place of pre-eminence in the bibliography.

The author is on much firmer ground in the two hundred pages devoted to the son, William Steele Holman. Following in his father's footsteps, the son held important local and state offices. This volume owes its existence to the fact that he was elected to Congress from the fourth Indiana district sixteen times—more often than any other representative before his day. His congressional career began

in 1858 and ended in 1897. As a "War Democrat" he supported Lincoln. Holman stood for the ideals of a simpler agricultural era, which could not always be carried over into the complex industrial age of railroads, high finance, and machines. In a period of extravagant and often corrupt expenditures he became known to his friends as the "watchdog of the treasury" and to his opponents as "the hayseed demagogue." He frequently blocked consideration of measures involving unwise expenditures and saved large sums of taxpayers' money from greedy contractors, lobbyists, and politicians, but he also helped to starve the Library of Congress and the Coast and Geodetic Survey and helped to check the improvement of the nation's capital city and the building of an adequate Navy.

Professor Blake's volume is a worth-while addition to the historical literature of the nineteenth century.

Ohio University

A. T. VOLWILER

JACOB PERKINS: HIS INVENTIONS, HIS TIMES, & HIS CONTEMPORARIES. By *Greville Bathe* and *Dorothy Bathe*. (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 1943. Pp. xiv, 215. \$5.00.)

THIS volume brings together for the first time, for the student of American industrial and engineering history, all of the factual material relative to the life and work of one of the most ingenious of our early inventors. Scattered references to Jacob Perkins have appeared in history books for many years, with particular emphasis on such spectacular inventions as his high-pressure steam engines and steam-operated cannon, or his more practical nail-making machinery and his introduction of steel engraving for the prevention of banknote forgery. None of these references, however, gives the remotest concept of the man's wide versatility in the mechanic arts or of his stupendous activity for over fifty years.

This book is the second valuable contribution made by these authors to American industrial history; the first appeared in 1935 under the title *Oliver Evans: A Chronicle of American Engineering*. *Jacob Perkins*, like *Oliver Evans*, is an exhaustive study made by an experienced engineer and a historian. One feels sure, therefore, that only facts are dealt with, and the reader may accept with confidence the opinions expressed both on the man and on the relative importance and value of his inventions in the light of modern technology.

The book is beautifully arranged. Its composition, full documentation, and the clear, sharp illustrations are most satisfying to the student of engineering history and also to the narrative historian, especially in the word pictures of the business, manufacturing, and professional environments in which Perkins moved. These sketches bridge nicely the lapses in continuity in the story of Perkins' personal and domestic life, concerning which comparatively little information was found.

The authors write of a man whose life and activities were quite different from

that of the average colonial American. At the age of fifteen Perkins, as an apprentice, was successfully carrying forward in Newburyport, Massachusetts, the jewelry manufacturing business of his deceased master. During the following years he perfected his skill in diemaking and engraving and started on a career as an inventor in widely diverse fields. Perkins was a man of ceaseless energy and made many favorable business contacts of short duration to develop his inventions. By preference he directed his attention first in America and after 1819 in England to improvement in the more useful branches of mechanics. The authors reveal a man who was, however, by nature lacking in tenacity of purpose and failed in many instances to develop his ideas completely. They tell of a great inventor, some of whose inventions were potential "gold mines." But Perkins was lacking in business sagacity or interest in financial reward and died, almost forgotten, without ever attaining that which he most desired—glory for some momentous discovery. One has the feeling that at long last in this book all that is to be found regarding Jacob Perkins has been brought to light.

Washington, D. C.

CARL MITMAN

WALT WHITMAN, AN AMERICAN: A STUDY IN BIOGRAPHY. By Henry Seidel Canby. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1943. Pp. viii, 381. \$3.75.)

HENRY Canby's contribution to scholarship is by no means merely a biography. It relates the story of the poet's life, pointed up by high lights of literary criticism, but it is an authentic historical interpretation of Whitman's America as well. It analyzes and inspects the democratic idealism of "the formative years of the nineteenth century" with sane perspective. Today, when the rising generation lifts a skeptical eyebrow at the naïve belief that pure democracy can govern efficiently, it is refreshing to turn back a century and imbue ourselves with the thought of young America on this subject in the 1840's. Canby does this convincingly by projecting social, economic, and political impulses into high relief. In most cases his theories are substantiated with concrete evidence.

In chronicling the life of such a pronounced individualist as Whitman, the biographer is here in double trust. He is obligated to portray the man himself as a self-contained integrated whole. But at the same time he should maintain a sharply defined focus on the background and view the central figure in his relation to other people, to the society, and to movements of his time. Since the arts are graphic embodiments of collective social consciousness, this twofold task is inevitably imposed upon the biographer and critic of creative artists and their work. A valid interpretation can be based only upon painstaking and extensive historical research. This is evidenced in the case of Canby, who "has been preparing all his life to understand Whitman."

Canby's concentrated application to the deep-biting etching of historical back-

grounds is comparable to that of the best art-historians. The amount of minute research involved in such studies is not generally realized or appreciated when embodied in publications not purely or primarily historical. As Frederick Keppel said about museums, the "bearers of the burden of man's collective memory" have "the peculiar nature of an iceberg—they are at all times seven-eighths submerged." Just so, the visible and readable portions of "man's collective memory," as recorded by such cultural historians, arise from a solid substructure of authenticated fact at least seven times as great as what appears above the surface.

In keen analysis of debatable psychological and æsthetic problems in Whitman, this author is in advance of any other biographer to date. This is especially true of the exposition of Whitman's poetic form. Canby shows that his first efforts in characteristic new idiom were practically squeezed out of him under the unbearable pressure of intense emotional experiences that he did not understand, but that he also had capacity to draw poetic inspiration from humdrum and even mechanical daily routine. In enunciating this dualistic theory of the emotional genesis and utilitarian derivation of Whitman's poetry, Canby has made a distinct contribution to literary history. He justifies convincingly the "new things" appearing for the first time in Whitman's verse form, and he offers a plausible analysis of the poet's erratic method of composition.

For the reader whose interest is not primarily literary, points of historical importance are underscored. Politics and practical experience in journalism are shown to have influenced Whitman's writings directly, especially in the direction of democracy and propaganda for the proletariat. A typical example of Canby's meticulous scrutiny of historical detail is his handling of photographs and portraits of Whitman. He has gone into the investigation and interpretation of these more extensively than any other writer. Certainly such procedure is in accord with recent trends in the study of literature to integrate personal memorabilia into a general scheme of culture rather than to put isolated details under microscopic examination for the gratification of the collector's instinct *per se*.

Consistent and exacting historical research into literary backgrounds is a good policy for accident insurance. Canby avoids palpable and ludicrous errors, such as Whitman writers are all too prone to make. Frances Winwar, the author of *American Giant: Walt Whitman and His Times*, advances as her proof for a clandestine affair with a Creole in New Orleans "a tintype photograph of a young woman from twenty to twenty-five years old" which is "pasted on a page of one of his notebooks," now in the Library of Congress. Miss Winwar, when she employs this tintype as evidence of a mistress in 1848, overlooks the fact that the tintype process was not discovered until 1855.

This book meets a practical need for those who ask, "Who is this 'Poet of Democracy'?" A soldier at the front recently wrote to me:

Our young generation has not lost its essential idealism; notwithstanding, I doubt whether it would wholeheartedly accept the Whitman concept of democracy.

Many will question his unique position as the spokesman for the great American idea, despite his awareness of the realities in our political and economic world. He recognized certain limitations in our administration of so-called democratic institutions, but did he fully comprehend the limitations in his beloved man and his beloved woman?

The answer to this basic question is to be found in Henry Canby's book because it shows how his faith in democracy rests solidly on his Quaker belief that there is "*that-of-God* in every man"!

New England Conservatory of Music

CLIFTON JOSEPH FURNESS

HISTORY OF THE JEWISH LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. Edited by *E. Tcherikower*. [Yiddish Scientific Institute, Section of History.] Volume I. (New York: Yiddish Scientific Institute. 1943. Pp. 414.)

THE above book is the first part of an extensive study—five or six volumes are contemplated—of the development of the Jewish labor movement in the United States, from its beginnings in the 1880's to the present time. This study is to be the collective work of a group of historians, with each writer contributing individual chapters to the series.

The first volume deals with the historic development of the social milieu which became the foundation of the Jewish labor movement in the United States, with the causes of its emigration to America, its demographic characteristics, its social and economic status, and the political and cultural conditions under which it grew into a social group of its own. The central figure in this volume is naturally the Jewish immigrant from eastern Europe and, in particular, from Russia.

In the early part of the last century Jews from eastern Europe first made their appearance in the United States. According to various data the number of these immigrants, during the period from 1820 to 1870, mounted to 30,000; from 1871 to 1880, to 70,000; from 1881 to 1890, to 200,000; and from 1891 to 1900, to 400,000. Of these 700,000 persons, 72 per cent came from Russia and the Russian part of Poland.

For hundreds of thousands of these immigrants there were dire times before they could manage to get on their feet. The sanitary conditions under which they lived and the exploitation to which they were subjected in sweatshops were common talk. But, hardened by their previous experience, the new arrivals managed to surmount the difficulties in the land of their adoption, and their liking for social life remained unabated. *Landsmannschaft* clubs, religious organizations, and various societies sprang up among them spontaneously. They continued to cultivate their native language and created Yiddish theaters, schools, and a Yiddish press. This social milieu furnished the groundwork for the Jewish labor movement, to be analyzed in the next volumes of this work.

The editor of the volume, E. Tcherikower, died suddenly in 1943. Mr.

Tcherikower was one of the founders of the Yiddish Scientific Institute. A disciple of S. Dubnov, he had been from his early youth a student of Jewish history. He was the author of the *History of Education among Russian Jews*, of a book on pogroms in the Ukraine during the civil war, etc. As secretary of the historic section of the Yiddish Scientific Institute, he edited the three-volume *Historishe Shriften*, which contains extensive material on Jewish history, and a volume dedicated to Jews in France. In this country he continued his work. His passing is a great loss to Jewish historic research.

New York City

BORIS SAPIR

REPORT ON DEMOBILIZATION. By James R. Mock and Evangeline Thurber. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1944. Pp. xi, 257. \$3.00.)

THERE is always the sense of tragedy when great opportunities are bungled or else missed entirely, and after reading *Report on Demobilization* the first feeling is one of profound discouragement. Precisely, and in detail, Dr. Mock and Miss Thurber have considered the countless reconstruction programs that poured forth after November 11, 1918, and stressed the yawning gap between plan and performance. No closer nor more brilliant study of a period was ever put in print, and it is a tribute to the craftsmanship of the authors that high-piled fact has not been permitted to kill interest.

Under their skilled touch the past has been restored, its colors all unfaded, and once again, after the lapse of a quarter of a century, the high hopes and bitter disillusionments of that other day are paraded; the glad certainties that Allied victory would usher in millennial dawn, assuring equal justice for the peoples of the earth and freeing them of every fear and pain; the confusion of tongues; the utter lack of agreement on method; the widening gulf between idealism and realism; the haphazard, headlong dumping of demobilized men back to an industry disorganized and bankrupted by the ruthless cancellation of contracts, inability to obtain payment for work done or under way, and failure to clear cluttered plants of military materials; the ugly breach between the White House and the Hill; the swift reaction from the emotionalism of war to the irritations of peace; the return to normalcy and the retreat into isolation—all of it is set down with unsparing particularity.

There is equal discouragement in the chapters devoted to present-day postwar planning. This time, certainly, even the most sudden collapse of the Axis Powers will not take us by surprise nor find us unprepared. As Dr. Mock and Miss Thurber point out, "Before we had been fighting a year, there were at least 140 federal and private agencies engaged wholly or in part in post-war planning. Practically every government office was interesting itself in questions that would affect its functions after the guns of battle began to cool."

As they are at pains to prove, however, there is the same lack of centralization and integration, the same infatuation with generalizing, the same preoccupation with superstructures rather than foundations, the same pathetic faith that the formulation of a plan is tantamount to accomplishment. Worse still, there is a naïve belief that postwar planning is a brand-new phenomenon, an uncharted task, so that no attention is being paid to the blunders of 1919, with the alarming probability that no single rock, reef, or shoal will be missed. To quote a few striking observations:

Not only is there lack of organization in our thinking about reconstruction, but there is also lack of any organization to implement the aims of the planners . . . too much working at cross purposes and too much duplication of effort . . . like an automobile plant with parts being made all over the shop, but with no assembly line to turn out a finished car that will run . . . industry is thinking about the reconstruction period wholly in terms of industry, labor is taking the labor approach, the government bureaus are thinking about that subject in terms of their own functions, the President has his post-war group, and Congress has its committees.

Only in the chapter "Blueprinting the Future" is there a note of cheer. Clearly, forcefully, the authors lay out the course that must be followed if the blunders and wrecks of that other day are to be avoided, pointing the ways to co-ordination and the substitution of a master plan for class, group, party, and clique planning. This one chapter, if it stood by itself, would make the book worth while.

Here and there are certain findings that invite dispute, for Dr. Mock and Miss Thurber are not word-mincers, and air-castle builders are notoriously resentful of criticism. On the whole, however, *Report on Demobilization* is reasonable and persuasive, and unless a malign fate continues to decree that people may not learn from the past, or ever profit by experience, it is bound to serve a great and useful purpose.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE CREEL

MONTANA: HIGH, WIDE, AND HANDSOME. By Joseph Kinsey Howard.
(New Haven: Yale University Press. 1943. Pp. vi, 347. \$3.00.)

THE news editor of the Great Falls *Leader* has written one of the best books about the Far West I have read in a long while, a book that has every claim to reader interest wherever the great, wide-spreading Rocky Mountain state of Mr. Howard's residence is concerned. Montana should be proud of this vivid, exciting, thoughtful, and, in many places, profound study which combines history, folkways, economics, past, present, and future, and politics. Part of it you can read and use as a textbook, but a sparse, carefully selected, and thoroughly interesting one; part—the history and the folkways—makes far more colorful reading than

most "Westerns," for this is the truth, and the way adventurous men lived, and still live, and will have to continue to live.

You can take your choice; here are some chapter headings, and by glancing at them you will see the range that has been covered: "The Grass"; "Seven Good Indians"; "Nine Holes in Rattlesnake Jake"; and, in contrast, "2,560 Acres per Family"; "Standard Oil Coffins"; "Rain Is All Hell Needs." Mr. Howard has articulated the book and made its purpose clear under six general headings, by which one can realize how a great Rocky Mountain state, one of the largest and most interesting, began, continued, and continues: Prairie; Prospector; Puncher; Plow; Panic; and, at long last, Planning. Those six headings constitute a saga in themselves, and to any Far Westerner, or to any American who knows the Far West, they are enormously evocative and provocative.

Montana, of the northern tier of the great states, so different from all the other states of the Union, that stand like huge border castles guarding the Continental Divide, for some reason is less well known than any of them, save possibly Idaho and eastern Washington. Western Washington is not a Far Western state but in every way adheres to the Pacific Coast. And yet in many ways Montana is more interesting and more varied both in its scenery and in its history than the majority of its sisters. As Mr. Howard says, it has almost everything except sufficient rainfall. It is a great mining state; it is a great stock state, sheep and cattle; and, finally, it is a great agricultural state; it is both a plains state and a mountain state. Western Montana boasts of some of the most magnificent mountain scenery in the United States, including Glacier Park; in the eastern part are found some of the most unending plains and badlands. It has everything, and so, every type of Far Western man and woman, which is perhaps the reason novelists and historians have for the most part evaded it for simpler and more homogeneous states like Wyoming, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado.

It is a brave man who tackles Montana, but the result, if successful, is magnificent. Mr. Howard is a brave man, and he loves his state in a way that touches the heart of every other Far Westerner, no matter where he comes from. His bravery has been rewarded. He has done a beautiful job—moving, useful, and, I think, permanent. He has made only one error, and I mention it with regret, but I have to, because I come from Wyoming, and this error has to do with Wyoming. I have lived with the problem for over twenty years and am sure that if Mr. Howard knew about it as intimately as I, he would agree with me. He is quite wrong about Jackson Hole and the recent presidential proclamation down there, setting aside the northern end of that valley as a national monument. The monument is an excellent example of intelligent zoning and planning for the future; the criticism of it and the gossip about it have been extraordinarily malicious.

Southern Pines, North Carolina

STRUTHERS BURT

PAPERS RELATING TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: JAPAN, 1931-1941. [Department of State, Publications 2008, 2016.] Two volumes. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1943. Pp. xc, 947; lix, 816. \$2.25, \$1.75.)

In these two volumes, 1,114 selected papers are arranged under fifteen principal topics. They are drawn from the voluminous correspondence of the period between September 18, 1931, when Mukden was attacked, and December 8, 1941, when the United States declared war. They are, with few exceptions, documents exchanged between the governments of the United States and Japan or between the government of the United States and its representatives in Japan. They include, however, relevant documents of the League of Nations, the Brussels Conference, the American Congress, the Japanese Diet, and American and Japanese military and naval commanders, and also the executive orders limiting exports of numerous commodities from the United States. Exchanges with or between other governments not bearing directly upon United States-Japanese relations are omitted. Aside from forty-eight documents covering the abandonment by Japan of co-operation toward limitation of naval armaments, three documents relating to extraterritoriality in China, and twenty-three documents concerned with Japan's relations with the Axis powers and the Soviet Union, the collection is devoted to matters arising out of Japan's undeclared war upon China and its extension into Southeast Asia. The bulk of Volume I is devoted to the effects of bombing and other military acts upon Americans and their property in China and to interferences with treaty rights and the "Open Door."

The extraordinary instability of Japanese cabinets during the decade 1931-41 is exhibited in the directory of principal officials printed in Volume I. Twelve prime ministers and sixteen ministers of foreign affairs held office during the period. The complete detachment of the Diet from control over foreign relations is plainly revealed in these figures. No consistent trend toward a more aggressive program of military action is deducible from what is known of the personal views of successive premiers and foreign ministers. These men were puppets for the military-bureaucratic-business oligarchy behind the scenes.

Without access to all the documents from which selections were made it is impossible to express an opinion upon the objectivity of the compilers. Certainly the papers included impress the reader with the apparent purpose of stating Japan's position adequately and accurately. Their general effect is to supplement and verify, rather than to modify appreciably, the conclusions of those who have followed consistently the press releases of the Department of State and the published news dispatches. Interesting additions to our knowledge are bits of straight talk and irony, such as Secretary Stimson's remark to Ambassador Debuchi, when informed that the Japanese government would not compromise on the recognition of "Manchoukuo" (not in quotation marks in the documents): "You take the

position which is equivalent, I suppose, to requesting that the fifty other nations of the world should compromise their principles." Secretary Hull, after displaying unlimited patience, broke out on October 8, 1940, with the remark that "it was unheard of for one country engaged in aggression and seizure of another country, contrary to all law and treaty provisions, to turn to a third peacefully disposed nation and seriously insist that it would be guilty of an unfriendly act if it should not cheerfully provide" implements of war to aid the aggressor nation.

As early as February 23, 1933, Ambassador Grew wrote to Secretary Stimson: "Japan's attitude is entirely free from bluff. Rather than surrender to moral or other pressure from the West, the military themselves, and the public through military propaganda, are fully prepared to fight." On January 27, 1941, he reported that a diplomatic colleague had informed him "that from many quarters, including a Japanese one, he had heard that a surprise mass attack on Pearl Harbor was planned by the Japanese military forces, in case of 'trouble' between Japan and the United States." A less definite warning was sent in November, 1941.

It is now generally realized that Japan's attack upon the United States was not the action of a stool pigeon for Germany. But a reading of Volume II of these documents clarifies the abrupt transition of the United States from strong words and soft action to positive opposition that occurred in the summer of 1941. The memorandum of Counselor Dooman's interview with Mr. Ohashi, vice-minister of foreign affairs, dated February 14, 1941, is of extraordinary interest in this connection. It reveals the importance attached by the American government to the probable effect upon the war in Europe of Japanese interference with British life lines to eastern Asia.

This interview took place on the day that Ambassador Nomura presented his credentials and Washington became the scene of conversations which ended on December 7. These conversations are fully recorded in the second volume of this collection. From the first meeting the danger of war was stated by Secretary Hull with the utmost frankness. But from April 16, when he laid down as preliminary bases of negotiation the acceptance of four principles, each of which contradicted Japan's actual program, the discussion seemed likely to fail. One wonders, indeed, as he reads paper after paper in which Mr. Hull reiterates these principles, whether Admiral Nomura's polite bows of apparent acquiescence did not conceal disinterest or lack of comprehension. Mr. Hull himself expresses uncertainty that he and Nomura understood one another. Nevertheless, he and his staff did not give up trying to make it worth while for Japan to desert the Axis and come to a settlement with China. The almost daily conversations extending over several months prove that every stone was turned for clues. During these exchanges of views it would, no doubt, have been advantageous had Ambassador Grew been in Washington. There is no evidence in the published documents that he played any part, between mid-February and the end of July, in the effort to reach an understanding. Later, his urgent support of Premier Konoye's request for a personal meeting

with President Roosevelt is excellent evidence that Nomura was not playing with marked cards. This proposal may well have appealed to the President. It was impractical because the success of such a meeting depended upon factors beyond the control of the two governments. But quite apart from this consideration, no one who reads the full story told by these documents will be confident that this final gesture of apparent liberalism would have succeeded. Between Japan's determination to be the "leader" in eastern Asia and America's stand for sovereignty, equality, and legal adjustment of international disputes, there was no ground for compromise.

University of Minnesota

HAROLD S. QUIGLEY

THE SPENDING POWER: A HISTORY OF THE EFFORTS OF CONGRESS TO CONTROL EXPENDITURES. By *Lucius Wilmerding, jr.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1943. Pp. v, 317. \$3.75.)

THIS is a history of congressional attempts from 1789 to 1941 to control the use of funds appropriated to the executive branch. Part I deals in nine chapters with efforts to control before expenditure; Part II, in four chapters, with efforts to control after expenditure. Written largely in the language of the actors in the fiscal drama, thoroughly documented from the records of Congress and the Treasury Department, this is a work of acute analysis, authentic scholarship, and absorbing interest to all concerned with national fiscal problems. The story it tells with complete objectivity is essential to any adequate understanding of fiscal relations between Congress and the executive branch and to any successful post-war attempt to solve the problem of expenditure control.

Part I begins by showing that executive officers have repeatedly transgressed the appropriation laws on grounds of national necessity or public safety and that Congress has generally sanctioned such conduct. Eight chapters follow in which Mr. Wilmerding lucidly traces, period by period, the "self-defeating" efforts of Congress to compel compliance with the laws making specific appropriations. The conventions which govern the appropriation of congressional grants and the methods by which control has been loosened in practice are elucidated. Congress has permitted transfers between appropriations, authorized the unlimited use of departmental receipts, and set up credit corporations with separate budgets. The executive has mingled appropriations, brought forward and backward unexpended and anticipated balances, incurred coercive deficiencies, and otherwise escaped the rigors of congressional control.

In Part II we see what has been done through financial reports, through those "ornamental barnacles" the expenditure committees of the House and Senate, and through the General Accounting Office to control expenditures in retrospect. Of special contemporary interest is Mr. Wilmerding's admirable account of the evolution of the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921—the "pseudo-solution" under

which our budget system now functions, its lack of resemblance to the English system, its confusion of audit with control, combining incompatible duties in the comptroller general, and its failure to establish a congressional audit. Congress, in its blindness, "saw without perceiving and heard without understanding. . . . It succeeded only in substituting a General Accounting Office audit for the previously existing Treasury audit." In short, as the author concludes, "the attempts of Congress to arm itself with the machinery of retrospective control have altogether miscarried."

No solution of the problem of effective control of expenditure is offered, lest argument be mixed with history. The author plans to present his views on this subject in a later book. We await them with keen interest.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE B. GALLOWAY

THEY ALSO RAN: THE STORY OF THE MEN WHO WERE DEFEATED FOR THE PRESIDENCY. By *Irving Stone*. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1943. Pp. xi, 389. \$3.50.)

At the outset it should be indicated that the "also-rans" discussed in this book are all confined to the major parties, and not all of the defeated candidates of major parties are included. No election prior to 1824 is involved, and defeated candidates who had previously been President or were later successful are omitted. There does not seem to be any good reason for neglecting John C. Breckenridge, since Stephen A. Douglas is included. Even with these limitations, the writing of the book was an ambitious undertaking.

The author does not present his characters in chronological order but groups them under headings indicating their professions or background. In each case he gives a rapid survey of the career of the candidate and indicates the factors responsible for his nomination. There are occasional slips or errors or debatable assertions. To cite a few: he says that Clay was at the climax of his career in 1824 and that Clay fought to extend slavery to newly acquired "states." The use of the term "pedagogue" in connection with Jackson is unusual, to say the least. He indicates that the United States and England were still struggling over the possession of the Oregon country in 1847. And he shows no knowledge of the railroad interests which may have motivated Douglas in introducing the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

The author also compares the defeated candidates with their successful rivals and ventures an opinion in each case as to whether they would have made better, worse, or equally good Presidents. In most cases the author's opinions would meet with general agreement. Some, like the reviewer, may doubt that Clay would not have been as good a President as Polk, that Frémont would have been better than Buchanan, with all his defects, or that Hancock would have excelled Garfield.

Finally, Mr. Stone essays the role of crystal-gazer and attempts to tell us what would have happened to the country if the defeated candidates had been successful. Here again the reader may feel that in many instances the guesses are well founded. But occasionally the author's statements are extreme, as when he dogmatically asserts that Bryan "would have discharged from the government service every Unitarian, Universalist, Congregationalist, free thinker, agnostic and atheist."

From the standpoint of literary style there can be nothing but praise for the book. It is good reading. In fact, the book is so good that it is too bad it is not better. A little more care in checking facts and interpretations and a little restraint here and there in expressing debatable opinions would have made the book reliable as well as readable.

University of Oregon

DAN E. CLARK

THE GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMY: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By *Robert G. Albion et al.* Edited by *Harold F. Williamson*. [Prentice-Hall Economic Series, E. A. J. Johnson, Editor.] (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1944. Pp. xiii, 804. \$4.00.)

THERE is much that is conventional in this new text on American economic history. In general the narrative breaks into the familiar three parts: the colonial era, the years between the Revolution and the Civil War, the decades since Appomattox; the pagination assigned to each period exhibits also the familiar proportions. Within this framework the treatment, however distributed among chapters and however the chapters may be titled, coincides essentially with the familiar topical one. But the text also has novelty. Instead of a single author, going through well-recognized motions, we have a troop of twenty-six performers, from R. G. Albion to Harold F. Williamson. Why? The preface answers:

American economic development has been exceedingly complex . . . with economic activities subdivided into dozens of major occupations, hundreds of specialized branches, and thousands of enterprises. The manifold changes in these various phases of American life have been so uniquely conditioned that only specialized study can give an adequate explanation of their evolution. For this reason it is doubtful if any one person can ever treat with authority all the topics that should be included in a survey book in American Economic History.

Without arguing the question whether such atomization of knowledge is either necessary or desirable, the conclusion does not follow from the premises. No doubt a phalanx of experts can produce a more scholarly treatment of American economic history than can any single craftsman if they are given scope to display their erudition and insight. In a text like the present one, somewhat shorter than

the mammoth three-deckers currently fashionable for the subject, such an opportunity simply does not exist. There is room only for the generalizations and illustrative material with which all competent scholars in the field are well acquainted. In turn, the volume encounters dangers peculiar to its species. Although some have been avoided, the book fails to provide a thoroughly systematic treatment of its subject.

Entirely aside from their merits, the character of the individual contributions is disturbingly diverse. Take the three chapters on the colonial era. One, a discussion of colonization as an economic process, is a compact and penetrating essay; a second, on commerce, is a deftly written sketch; but the chapter on colonial production is mere routine. Or take the three chapters on industry between the Revolution and the Civil War. In the first two, on the processing of agricultural products and the heavy industries, the various industries are carried through the whole period with clarity and vigor; in the third, on light manufactures and precision manufacturing, this procedure collides with a discussion stratified into subperiods and complicated by narratives of tariffs and industrial labor.

There is inevitably a great deal of repetition. Consider only one theme, business organization and management. For the earlier period, T. C. Cochran manages fairly well to avoid saying what his fellow authors have said already. W. C. Kessler's chapter for the later period largely rehearses what has been written in earlier pages on banking, labor, and industrial combination, and partially anticipates a later chapter on the performance of the American economy since 1860. The reverse of interlocking repetition is omission. Andrew Carnegie wins deserved attention, but John D. Rockefeller fails to make this economic "Who's Who"; holding companies get passing notice, but the trust none at all; the petroleum, electrical, and chemical industries are inadequately treated or ignored entirely. Labor in the early period is discussed only incidentally to other subjects. The chapter on labor for the later period treats wages, while hours are 150 pages away under the "performance of the American economy"; omits the Pullman strike, perhaps designedly, but gives only a random notion of the injunction as an antilabor instrument; and discusses the judiciary's attitudes toward unions but omits the whole field of protective labor legislation.

Defects so numerous and important cannot be remedied by editorial assignment or energy. The essentials of a good text, economy in selecting material and consistency in tone and proportion, can be obtained only if the editor stands continually at the elbow of each contributor; in other words, only if he writes the text himself. Although this experiment is based upon a fundamental misconception, many chapters are written with genuine distinction, and the attention given some topics, notably agricultural and industrial regionalism, points in fruitful directions. Even experienced scholars will be stimulated by W. F. Craven's "The Early Settlements: A European Investment of Capital and Labor"; Muriel Hidy's "The Capital Markets, 1789-1860"; Samuel Rezneck's "Mass Production since the War

between the States"; and J. F. Bain's "Industrial Concentration and Government Antitrust Policy."

Bowdoin College

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND

REBELLION IN THE BACKLANDS. Translated from OS SERTÕES, by *Euclides da Cunha*, with Introduction and Notes, by *Samuel Putnam*. Preface by Afrânio Peixoto. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1943. Pp. xxxii, 526. \$5.00.)

Os Sertões is one of the books that has most profoundly affected Brazilian intellectual history and has done much to color the interpretations devised by Brazilians for understanding their country. In outline it is very simple, for it describes the human geography of the interior of northeast Brazil, the origin and growth there of a fanatic religious sect that came into conflict with the authority of the newly founded Brazilian republic, and the desperate and losing struggle of the back-country men against the republican army. Yet, because the book is extraordinarily rich in substance, it called the attention of Brazilians at the beginning of the twentieth century to a new concept of their country.

Euclides da Cunha was by temperament and training inclined to finding rational explanations in nature for the world he saw around him. He found inadequate the prevailing sentimental and romantic Indianism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. To his training as an engineer and a soldier he added a great receptivity to the attempts being made, especially in Europe, to produce a synthesis of scientific knowledge of man and his environment that would interpret man and his place in nature. Biology and human geography especially appealed to Euclides. When he went with the army as a correspondent to report the crushing of the fanatics at Canudos, he found himself in a part of Brazil entirely different from the civilized and populated coast. The revolt itself was meaningless to him until he had analyzed the countryside, the way of life, and the springs of action of these people. Thus, though four fifths of his book describe the actual siege of Canudos, these pages are to illustrate his concept of the man of the *sertões*.

Because his book described brutal fighting and aroused political debate, it sold rapidly and in large numbers. As the extraneous factors that attracted public attention began to lose in timeliness, thoughtful Brazilians began to weigh more and more its theories of human geography and Brazilian nationality, for what Euclides said seemed more in accord with observed facts than any theory presented until that time. Though what he wrote was not a novel, the naturalism of his approach, which met with instant acceptance by a Brazilian public already enthusiastic for French literary naturalism, influenced a whole generation of novelists.

Though American readers unfamiliar with Brazilian republican history may not grasp entirely the meaning and setting of the book, they will nevertheless find that Euclides' narrative skill and graphic description provide interesting and

stirring reading. It will be perhaps of even greater value as an example of the reception in Brazil of nineteenth century scientific ideas. It should do much to explain to students of present-day Brazil the origin of many sociological concepts that are current today.

Only readers thoroughly familiar with the difficult Portuguese text will be able to judge Mr. Putnam's extraordinary success in making this translation. Euclides wrote in a markedly personal style, with a vocabulary drawn from half a dozen sciences and with abundant use of regionalisms. Mr. Putnam has accomplished the difficult task of keeping his rendering accurate while at the same time producing a readable text in idiomatic English. His glossaries and notes on linguistic points are sound work, and his preface and occasional historical footnotes are informative.

Washington, D. C.

ALEXANDER MARCHANT

THE BATTLE FOR BUENOS AIRES. By *Sax Bradford*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1943. Pp. vi, 307. \$2.50.)

BUENOS AIRES is a huge door which opens into the ocean and into the pampas, the meeting place of the fertility and wealth of Argentina's plains and the spiritual currents of the world. In Buenos Aires the provincial conservatism of the interior contends for primacy with the ideological diversity that comes from afar. Argentina is the result of the conflict between the city and the traditional Argentina of colonial times.

Buenos Aires looks upon the wide panorama of the world with the cockiness that comes from the knowledge of her own accomplishments and the certainty of her abundance. She has a realistic and objective attitude toward international relations, but the pattern of her traditional life is bound by rather rigid rules. And she does not like to be high-pressured or pushed around. Argentina does not feel insufficient or incompetent or fearful like some of the other Latin-American republics. She does not suffer from material or from spiritual weakness.

The conservatives of Argentina have lived in a kind of secluded civilization, wonderfully gracious but wonderfully selfish. The waves of immigrants brought change and progress in the form of social and economic evolution, too big to stop, too complex to understand, too aggressive to admire. The patriarchal families have lost much of the land they owned, many of the privileges they enjoyed, and much of the life they loved. Naturally they have identified their losses with liberal politics, socialism, communism, merchant and industrial classes, the movies, divorce laws, and foreign ideas. It is the perennial conflict between tradition and reality.

The Battle for Buenos Aires is an interesting book, but it is a book for those who know Argentina or "know enough" about Argentina. It has to be read slowly.

It is not just one book but two books in one, one part of which is a study of Nazi infiltration technique, engagingly delineated. This, to me, is the least significant section of *The Battle for Buenos Aires*. Although it is very good reporting, the story of Nazi penetration has been outlined before, and the story is the same everywhere. Moreover, the pro-Axis activities are often oversimplified and over-emphasized. It is when Mr. Bradford attempts to interpret sociopolitical phenomena that the work is really worthwhile.

Mr. Bradford's historical background seems to be rather scanty. There are minor errors. But his description of the city of Buenos Aires, its idiosyncracies and cultural evolution, is captivating and enticing; his contrast of the city and the pampa with the Andean provinces adequately correct; his evaluation of the forces working to preserve freedom for humankind satisfactory.

On page 226 Mr. Bradford remarks that "In Argentina and Uruguay, where Italian blood is close to being dominant, faith in democracy is high among the people"; and on page 232 he adds, "If the Italians are the flesh and blood of democracy among Argentina's European nations, its backbone is the Spanish Republican movement." He has gone beyond the shallow thinking of most popular newspapermen writing on international issues and events; he has tried to make a thorough analysis of the influences shaping the destiny of Argentina.

Buenos Aires needs more immigrants, not sermons nor advice. She grew and flourished, thanks to the men and women who flowed in from Spain, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, France, Poland, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, Syria, etc. They and their descendants (76 per cent of her inhabitants are Argentine-born, 24 per cent foreign-born) are the strength of Argentina. "It is the middle class that is Buenos Aires" (p. 22).

Argentina desires earnestly to remain master of her own house. No other Latin-American nation enjoys as much social, economic, and cultural stability. It is wrong to condemn her nationalistic attitude as Nazist, fascist, or phalangist. The present temporary political emergency has not made any fundamental changes in her socio-political structure. Argentina's democratic spirit and profoundly humanitarian international policies are still dominant. Mr. Bradford has accumulated a sufficient number of observations to leave me with an optimistic view of the ultimate outcome.

Part III of *The Battle for Buenos Aires* consists of three spirited and stimulating chapters and an epilogue. Chapter xvii appraises the great import of understanding in the achieving of continental solidarity and mutual respect and trust. Chapter xviii examines critically the intrinsic worthiness and utility of the movies and the radio as cultural instruments. Chapter xix is devoted to the part businessmen and men in the foreign service play in the relations between Argentina and the United States.

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

A MEDICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY: A CHECK-LIST OF TEXTS ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY OF THE MEDICAL SCIENCES. Originally compiled by the late *Fielding H. Garrison* and now revised, with additions and annotations, by *Leslie T. Morton*. (London, Grafton, 1943, pp. viii, 412, \$12.00.)

GENERAL CENSUSES AND VITAL STATISTICS IN THE AMERICAS. Prepared under the supervision of *Irene B. Tauber*, Chief, Census Library Project. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1943, pp. ix, 151, 65 cents.) This bibliographical aid will serve the interests of social scientists working in many fields. It indicates just what material they may expect to find in the published census reports of the colonial and national censuses from Iceland to Cape Horn.

REQUISITION IN FRANCE AND ITALY: THE TREATMENT OF NATIONAL PRIVATE PROPERTY AND SERVICES. By *Maurice K. Wise*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. viii, 207, \$2.75.) This study, primarily of importance to the lawyer and legal historian, covers well the topic announced in the title.

THE CONSTITUTION AND WORLD ORGANIZATION. By *Edward S. Corwin*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1944, pp. xiii, 64, \$1.00.)

GEOPOLITICS IN PRINCIPLE AND PRACTICE. By *Russell H. Fifield*, Assistant Professor of Geography, University of Missouri, and *G. Etzel Percy*, Research Geographer, Transcontinental and Western Air, Inc. (Boston, Ginn, 1944, pp. iv, 204, \$2.25.)

CZECHOSLOVAKIA FIGHTS BACK: A DOCUMENT OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Introduction by Jan Masaryk. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1943, pp. 210.) "This book could well be considered a significant case history of Hitler's 'New Order' and the opposition it has encountered. Here is the record of the material and spiritual destruction wrought in occupied Czechoslovakia in the course of the five fateful years since the unfortunate Munich Agreement."

THE LION RAMPANT: THE STORY OF HOLLAND'S RESISTANCE TO THE NAZIS. By *L. de Jong* and *Joseph W. F. Stoppelman*. (New York, Querido, 1943, pp. vii, 386, \$3.00.) This book, written by competent journalists, one of whom long was on the staff of *De Groene Amsterdammer*, tells what has befallen the Dutch people since the injustice perpetrated on May 10, 1940. It is an accurate account so far as difficult communication permits. Here we have a survey of the invasion and the hideous destruction, followed by the iron policy of Nazi ideologists: reorganization of state and social forms, issuance of paper money and looting the Netherlands Bank, ruin of labor unions and labor legislation, co-ordination of stage, radio, and education; muzzling the press, subjection of farmers to a bureaucratic military regime designed to wring every ounce of food, much of which is sent to Germany, and rigid control of industry. All this in Holland as in other conquered countries; the consequences are the same; and the Dutch people have shown equal resourcefulness in combating

the tyrant. Young and old make no peace with him; the farmers refuse to collaborate, yielding only to force; the churches, Reformed and Catholic, have heroically defied him; in fact, only a handful works willingly with the intruder. That handful, members of the Dutch Nazi party, lives miserably, fearing the consequences of acts they have neither the patriotism nor the conscience to shun. Winter relief has failed; Nazi crimes against the Jews have fixed the popular hatred; the underground is well organized; and a clandestine press instructs the public. The doctrine of race which in the minds of Hollanders has no basis—historical, anthropological, or theological—is especially hateful in a country which long ago had adopted genuine tolerance toward all.

HENRY S. LUCAS

COME OVER INTO MACEDONIA: THE STORY OF A TEN-YEAR ADVENTURE IN UPLIFTING A WAR-TORN PEOPLE. By *Harold B. Allen*. (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1943, pp. xviii, 313, \$3.00.) Greek Macedonia has probably suffered as much from the hardships of war as any similar area during the past generation. Its liberation from Ottoman rule in 1912 was followed within a few years by the gradual involvement of Greece in the World War. With the Allied occupation of Salonika in 1915, Greek Macedonia again became a war zone. In the fall of 1918 it was the scene of decisive operations, and the subsequent exchange of populations with Greece's late enemies brought new hardships. Some half a million Turks and Bulgars left the province, and almost eight hundred thousand Greeks took their places. When Mr. Harold B. Allen took up his duties in 1928 as overseas director of education for the Near East Relief (reorganized as the Near East Foundation in 1930), over 45 per cent of the 1,500,000 inhabitants of Macedonia were refugees from Turkey, Bulgaria, and Russia, and Mr. Allen found appalling conditions when he made his first survey of the province. With the technical aid of C. E. Whipple and W. W. Adams, as agricultural supervisors, and of a number of enthusiastic young Greeks, the social and economic conditions of the refugees were gradually improved. The sound American practice of helping the refugees to help themselves was adopted, and valuable support was provided by the Greek government and the Greek Orthodox church. Mr. Allen also commends the energy of the Metaxas regime in adopting the procedures which he had developed. Since 1940, Greek Macedonia has again been under the shadow of war, and a great deal of Mr. Allen's work must have been undone. The experience acquired in Macedonia by the Near East Foundation will be of the greatest value, however, in the vast projects of rural reconstruction which will be undertaken after the war.

C. E. BLACK

TEXT OF OFFICIAL REPORT AND RELATED DOCUMENTS: WAR AND POSTWAR ADJUSTMENT POLICIES. By *Bernard M. Baruch* and *John M. Hancock*. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1944, pp. 131, cloth \$2.00, paper \$1.00.)

UNITED NATIONS AGREEMENTS. Edited by *M. B. Schnapper*, Executive Secretary, American Council on Public Affairs. Foreword by Arthur Sweetser, Chairman, United Nations Information Board. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1944, pp. xxxiii, 376, cloth \$3.75, paper \$3.25.)

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WILHELM SCHENK. Ernst Troeltsch's Conception of History. *Dublin Rev.*, Jan.

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 THOMAS J. HAMILTON. Spanish Dreams of Empire. *For. Affairs*, Apr.
 MARGERY PERHAM. African Facts and American Criticisms. *Ibid.*
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Ancient History¹

T. R. S. Broughton

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA STUDIES IN CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITY. Edited by *Johannes Quasten*. No. 5, MATER ECCLESIA: AN INQUIRY INTO THE CONCEPT OF THE CHURCH AS MOTHER IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY. By *Joseph C. Plumpe*, Assistant Professor of Latin, Catholic University of America. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1943, pp. xxi, 149, \$2.00.) This is a competent investigation with some serious flaws. When Mr. Plumpe traces the concept of "Mother Church" from its "early anticipations" through Tertullian, Cyprian, Clement, Origen down to Methodius, he is on firm ground and the result is a real, if modest, contribution to the history of the early church. His proofs that the concept probably originated in the Near East and received its fullest expression in North Africa, especially in the writings of Cyprian, are likewise convincing. He may, too, be right in arguing that it was foreign to Roman ideas and only gained a firm footing in Rome relatively late, that is, by the middle of the fourth century. The opening chapter, "Scriptural Prototypes and Contemporary Pagan-gnostic Analogies," is weak. In the first place, while he discusses Old Testament passages in which the cities of Sion or of Jerusalem are spoken of as mothers, he seems to forget that in the classical and later Greek world it was a commonplace of poets and prose writers to think and speak of an organized society as mother or mother city. Sophocles calls the island of Scyros "the mother of doughty men"; a city-state which sent out a colony elsewhere is called a metropolis. But the early Christian churches were also organized societies, and the metaphor of motherhood would be a very familiar idea to the Greek gentiles among whom Paul's mission lay. Curiously enough there does not appear to be any clear evidence for a similar use of *mater* in classical Latin, which supports Mr. Plumpe's contention regarding Roman thought before the fourth century, though the fact has escaped him. My second criticism is that his treatment of pagan analogies is superficial, when it is not contemptuous (*cf.*, for instance, pp. 11-13). If he would be thought a true scholar, he must refrain from injecting his own religious bias into the study of comparative religion. M. L. W. LAISTNER

¹Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

CHRISTIANITY AND CLASSICAL CULTURE: A STUDY OF THOUGHT AND ACTION FROM AUGUSTUS TO AUGUSTINE. By *Charles Norris Cochrane*, University College, Toronto. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1944, pp. vii, 523, \$5.00.) The English edition, published in 1940, was reviewed in this journal (XLVII, 314).

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

THE CRUSADE OF VARNA: A DISCUSSION OF CONTROVERSIAL PROBLEMS.

By O. Halecki, Professor of Eastern European History in the University of Warsaw. [Polish Institute Series, No. 3.] (New York, Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, 1943, pp. 96.) In this detailed and erudite monograph the great Polish historian of the Middle Ages continues his researches in the history of the crusades against the Turks with a comprehensive analysis of the diplomatic negotiations which preceded the ill-fated crusade of 1444. Traditionally, Ladislas of Poland and Hungary has been blamed for breaking his oath to make peace with Turkey and for engaging in the disastrous campaign of Varna, contrary to treaty obligations, while the sultan was scrupulously carrying out the terms of their agreement. Professor Halecki shows, largely through a re-evaluation of little-known documents, some of which he publishes in an appendix, that Ladislas never swore to any terms of peace with Turkey and that the treaty arranged at Adrianople between Sultan Murad and the envoys of the Christian powers was never ratified by the king. The negotiations which were conducted by envoys of Ladislas, John Hunyadi, and the Despot George Brancovich of Serbia actually resulted only in an agreement between the sultan and the despot which broke the Hungaro-Serb alliance and gave the sultan more time to settle his Anatolian troubles. As a treaty between Poland and Turkey the so-called Truce of Szeged is a myth; both sides were merely negotiating to gain time. The story of Ladislas' double-dealing was the interpretation of anti-Jagiellonians and anti-papal adherents of the Council of Basle who sought to bring discredit on the Polish monarch. While by no means a history of the crusade of Varna, as its title might indicate, this scholarly study clarifies a moot point in the history of that crusade and refutes effectively the charge of faithlessness against the unfortunate Jagiellonian, whose death at Varna was due to the bad timing of his campaign and was not, as some contemporary writers proclaimed, punishment for his perfidy. JOHN L. LA MONTE

PAUL ALBÁR OF CORDOBA: STUDIES ON HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS. By

Carleton M. Sage, of the Society of St. Sulpice. [The Catholic University of America Studies in Mediaeval History, New Series, Volume V.] (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1943, pp. xii, 239.) This is a thorough and painstaking study of Alvaro of Cordova; I see no reason for deserting the tradition, *b* and *v* having been interchangeable in Spain since Roman days. Alvaro is chiefly remembered today, as Dr. Sage says, because of his complaint that Spanish Christians of his time (860 A.D.)

knew Arabic better than Latin; incidentally, Dr. Sage is incorrect in putting the Arabic translation of the Bible a century later; the Sigüenza fragments are of Alvaro's own generation. It is a pity that Dr. Sage has had to work with ancient and inaccurate texts of Alvaro; this vitiates, *e.g.*, his comments on the rhetorical cursus. But his interests lie elsewhere, in Alvaro's doctrinal discussions (perilously near Nestorianism) with his friends, his rhetorical theories and their sources, and his relation to the martyrs, especially his friend and correspondent St. Eulogius. Dr. Sage incorporates a translation of Alvaro's life of the saint; he has spent much time in the search for sources and parallels and is successful in showing how jejune and uninspired was intellectual life in the Cordova Christian community in the late ninth century, between Isidore and the revival of about 1000 A.D.; Alvaro's bitter complaint is evidently justified; all Andalusian talent was absorbed by the Moorish university and intelligentsia. Dr. Sage includes an account of the elusive manuscripts; my failure to find that of the Cordova Mosque, rediscovered later by Artiles, led me to confuse it with the Smaragdus manuscript, as Dr. Sage remarks. I hope he may be spared to give us a modern critical edition, translation, and commentary; his dissertation is a worthy introduction. It has a good bibliography and index.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK

A HAND-LIST OF BEDE MANUSCRIPTS. By M. L. W. Laistner, John Stambaugh Professor of History in Cornell University, with the collaboration of H. H. King, Research Assistant in the Cornell University Library. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1943, pp. x, 168, \$3.00.) In this hand-list Professor Laistner presents, in brief and compact form, the most exhaustive array of the manuscripts of Bede ever published. Bede's works, although treated singly, are conveniently grouped under the following main headings: Biblical Commentaries, Geography, Hagiography, History, Homilies, Letters, Poems, School Treatises, Scientific Treatises, and Lost and Doubtful Works. Prefixed to the list of manuscripts for each work is a short but pointed discussion of the piece, including Bede's own reference to it in the well-known passage in the *Ecclesiastical History* (Bk. V, chap. xxiv), where he has left us a list of his writings. The description of the manuscripts is restricted to the mention of the place, the library designation, the date, the provenience (when known), and the printed catalogue or other bibliographical reference. There is a list of manuscripts at the end of the volume. The admirable introduction endeavors, on the basis of a survey of the extant manuscripts, to offer "some general conclusions regarding the influence of Bede during the Middle Ages"; the most interesting conclusion is that Continental *scriptoria* are more important than those of England for the transmission of the text of Bede, with the single exception of the *Ecclesiastical History*. Professor Laistner, together with Dr. King, who assisted him in the gathering of the information, has devoted some ten years to this sober and accurate compilation; students of Bede and of the Middle Ages are grateful to them. The Cornell University Press, too, deserves credit for having put out the book, which is beautifully printed on excellent paper.

FREDERICK M. CAREY

THE REGISTER OF HENRY CHICHELE, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, 1414-1443. Volume I. Edited by E. F. Jacob, Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1943, pp. clxxii, 407, \$4.50.) In 1438 Archbishop Chichele founded All Souls College at Oxford, and part of the quincentenary commemoration of that event was the publication in four volumes of the archbishop's register. Volume II, dealing with the probate of wills, appeared in 1938. Volume I, now under review, deals with ecclesiastical appointments. The form in which these documents are published is an excellent example of skillful and thorough editorial scholarship, providing all the data offered by the register

without repetition or excessive bulk. The part which is of most immediate general interest is the very learned introduction, comprising about a third of this volume. This introduction draws its information from the whole register. It includes as complete a life of Chichele as can be compiled from all the sources for the period, more detailed than anything previously published. More important, however, is the extremely interesting description of archiepiscopal administration in the fifteenth century. Here is a picture of the English church government at work under a conscientious and efficient leader a century before the Reformation which makes clear the multiple and varied problems which press simultaneously upon any complicated administrative system. Students of the Reformation may be disappointed by the absence of emphasis upon abuses. The register does indicate that anticlerical violence was a serious problem, but it also tends to call attention to the malicious charges of rape and felony against clerks who were found, on inquiry, "to be of honest life and good repute." Papal provision is seen to be an issue of national policy, and in the chief instance, where the Curia succeeded in putting through a piece of papal patronage, Professor Jacob comments that "the diocese probably got on perfectly well without a native archdeacon." A new slant is given to the history of Lollardry by presenting the practical administrative problems which arose relative to dealing with heretics. In academic circles the important issue of finding jobs for university graduates will be appreciated. Every student of English history in the later Middle Ages will recognize this as a very useful and distinguished publication.

RICHARD A. NEWHALL

A CATALOGUE OF THE MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE MANUSCRIPTS AND INCUNABULA IN THE BOSTON MEDICAL LIBRARY. By *James F. Ballard*. (Boston, Boston Medical Library, 1944, pp. 266, \$7.50.)

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE

F. H. Herrick

THE TARIFF REFORM MOVEMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN, 1881-1895. By *Benjamin H. Brown*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1943, pp. x, 170, \$2.50.) In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the great depression which overtook British industry and commerce awakened doubts as to the validity of free trade and induced many desertions from the banner of Cobdenism. A movement began that later attained primary importance with the tariff reform proposals of Joseph Chamberlain and the Ottawa agreements of 1932. It is with the preliminary work of the early protectionists that Benjamin H. Brown is concerned in this doctoral dissertation. Between the formation of the National Fair Trade League in 1881 and the accession of Chamberlain to the Colonial Office in 1895, those discontented with the results of free trade sought with varying degrees of success to convert organized labor, the Conservative party, the imperialists, the industrialists, and the farmers to the cause of protection. Each of these efforts receives a chapter or a section in which it is developed for the whole period of fourteen years. The author finds the attempt to convert labor almost a total failure, because the workers looked with suspicion upon men who could spend thousands of pounds upon an agitation and yet claim that wages must be reduced. It was impossible to court both the farmer, who desired the dear loaf, and the laborer, who demanded a cheap one, so that when the Fair Trade League decided in favor of the former, the appeal to the latter failed. Better success was had with the Conservative party, although its dependence upon the Liberal Unionists, still staunch free traders, held protection in check. The shock of the McKinley tariff, which dealt a staggering blow to many British industries, did more to win converts than the previous ten years of agitation. It resulted in one of those depressions that, as the author demonstrates, always brought a rapid growth of protection, whereas a trade revival had the opposite effect. Finally, in a chapter which in a better arrangement would have been the concluding one, it is shown how the growing imperialism transformed fair trade from a question of safeguarding British industry and agriculture to one involving an attempted revolution in imperial policy. The book is based upon manuscript, periodical, newspaper, and pamphlet material in American and English libraries. Minor defects of presentation in a generally satisfactory study are the habit of addressing the reader directly, the use of rhetorical questions, and the inclusion of such a large number of commonplace quotations.

CARL F. BRAND

MASARYK IN ENGLAND. By *R. W. Seton-Watson*. (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1943, pp. x, 206, \$2.75.) This small volume is dedicated to Jan Masaryk, Czechoslovak foreign minister, "in the hope that his [father's] fortitude in exile may serve as an encouragement and example to the rising generation of Czechoslovaks." The author, after a brief and lucid chapter on Thomas G. Masaryk as a man and statesman, devotes the remaining three quarters of the book to letters and memoranda revealing his many-sided activities while in England from 1915 to 1917. It is, therefore, a source book for this period in the life of the great Czechoslovak statesman. Masaryk's objective in seeking direct contact with Englishmen and establishing his residence there was to correct their great lack of knowledge regarding central Europe, especially the Slavic countries, and thus change British foreign policy in regard to this part of Europe. This led him to accept, however

reluctantly, the lectureship in the newly organized School of Slavonic Studies in London. It caused him to write memoranda which must have had wide influence in governing circles: not only his "Independent Bohemia" and his inaugural lecture, "The Problem of Small Nations in the European Crisis," but his "At the Eleventh Hour," in which he constructively criticized the military and strategic policies of the Entente and demonstrated his penetrating grasp of these problems, as well as his farsighted vision. It was in these writings that Masaryk laid the groundwork of a good deal of the future peacemaking. It was not easy for the author to get up this book. He could not eliminate himself because he played an outstanding role in the success of Masaryk in London. All in all he has rendered a most useful service in thus bringing numerous incidents and some unpublished memoranda together in a single work, even though a large part of the material has been known to competent scholars in this field. Perhaps he would have rendered a greater service had he described in detail the ignorance about central and eastern Europe in British governing circles before Masaryk's arrival and the effect Masaryk had on them.

ROBERT J. KERNER

MÉMOIRES DE LA SOCIÉTÉ ROYALE DU CANADA. Sections I et II, 1882-1943. INDEX. Dressé par *Lucien Brault*, Historien honoraire de la cité d'Ottawa. (Ottawa, Les Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1944, pp. 112, \$3.00.)

WINTER STUDIES AND SUMMER RAMBLES IN CANADA. By *Anna Brownell Jameson*. Edited by *James J. Talman* and *Elsie McLeod Murray*. (Toronto, Thomas Nelson, 1943, pp. xii, 276.) Such books as Mrs. Jameson's travel diary should be required reading for everyone, and they are many, who are prone to forget how young and fresh this America of ours really is, who forget how much hard toil has produced in somewhat over a century throughout the Middle West and Upper Canada (Ontario). The immigrant trail across southern Ontario where run the through trains from Detroit to New York today; the pioneers hewing homesteads from virgin timberland; the great Indian assemblies at Mackinac Island and Manitoulin; the cheery French-Canadian bateaux men—these are all deftly and appreciatively recorded in these stirring pages. Here are Canadian and American life intermingled, then as now, and seen through the shrewd yet poetic eyes of the cultured Anglo-Irish Mrs. Jameson. The editors are to be congratulated upon their apt selection of material from this essential diary; so, too, the publishers on their readiness to make the book available anew in so convenient a form to a generation that could ill afford to lose it.

RICHARD M. SAUNDERS

THE PAGEANT OF CANADIAN HISTORY. By *Anne Merriman Peck*. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1943, pp. xii, 370, \$3.00.) Canadians may well be thankful for such a sympathetic popularization of their national story as Mrs. Peck has written for an American audience. As far as I can see, she should have every reason to believe that Canadians will consider this volume a valuable contribution to better understanding between the two countries. The interpretation is an accurate one, reflecting views commonly expressed by those who speak and write for Canada. Controversial points are treated tactfully and fairly. Canadian feelings on important issues are correctly appraised. The style is colorful and attractive and the illustrations excellent. Some Canadians will resent this book as a romanticized picture of their history, as emphasizing the picturesque and strange at the expense of the ordinary and stable. This book, they will say, gives an impression of Canada as a quaint, undeveloped land, whereas she wishes to be known as a mature nation ready to play an important part in modern world affairs. The complexities of the Canadian scene are not adequately

elaborated. The political organization is only hastily sketched. There is some truth in these views; but this book is aimed at an audience which knows next to nothing of Canada and has hitherto cared little. Canadians see that lack of concern as an American weakness. Will this book help to remedy it? I think it will. That is its value.

—RICHARD M. SAUNDERS

DOMINION OF CANADA, REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES FOR THE YEAR 1943. By *Gustave Lanctot*, Keeper of Public Records. (Ottawa, Edmond Cloutier, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1944, pp. xxxvi, 186.) In addition to the report of activities for the year, this volume contains a calendar of a considerable body of material on the Canada Company in the years 1824-31 and also a continuation from the report of 1901 of the correspondence between officials in Upper Canada in 1837.

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FRANCE

LA TRADITION LITTÉRAIRE DES IDÉOLOGUES. By *Emile Cailliet*, Professor of French Literature and Civilization, University of Pennsylvania. [Mémoires of the American Philosophical Society, Volume XIX.] (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1943, pp. xxi, 322, \$4.00.) That these French writers (1795-1820), long regarded as the insignificant "tail-end" of Condillac's materialism, were really the worthy heirs of the enlightenment as a whole, and, in broader perspective, the "missing link" in the history of modern positivism, is Cailliet's thesis. He establishes a clear continuity between the ideologues, the naturalists of 1840, and the realists of 1880. The author traces the roots of their positivist views from antiquity, analyzes the content of their thought, and establishes their nineteenth century connections. These materialists, who sought to infuse the scientific spirit into all branches of knowledge, especially psychology and the social sciences, borrowed their method of critical analysis from Condillac. But their outlook was broader than Condillac's, as demonstrated by Condorcet's *Esquisse* and by the work of the two chief ideologues, Cabanis and Destutt de Tracy. Liberals, believing in gradual progress geared to the advance of knowledge, the ideologues were never "guilty" of political romanticism, seeing in the United States, where they had close associations, rather than in Napoleon, the truer embodiment of their views. The new educational system they provided France (1795-1802) was based on a scientific spirit too free for Napoleon. While, despite their scientific bent, they dominated the French Institute then and later, they produced a literature of real merit, scarcely touched by modern scholarship. Aware of their shortcomings and without exaggerating their importance, Cailliet has made a real contribution to an understanding of this neglected group. Without detracting from the worth of this study, the synthesis of a painstaking investigation, it must be noted that the somewhat academic presentation and a tendency to digress often obscure the main argument. Although Cailliet makes his point, any danger of losing the theme is eliminated by Gilbert Chinard's excellent introduction, written in English, which combines a brief résumé of the book with a provocative evaluation of the movement as a whole and ends with a suggested reclassification of nineteenth century French literature with reference to monism and dualism.

RAYMOND O. ROCKWOOD

PETAIN: VERDUN TO VICHY. By *Francis Martel*. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1943, pp. 226, \$2.50.) This story of treason develops smoothly and unhesitatingly; from the general of World War I, with his overemphasis on defensive strategy, his pessimism, his vanity, and Anglophobia, to the old marshal who came to despise democracy and admire fascism, the author unfolds Pétain's character and motives with superb confidence. "The will to defeat an attacking army from fortresses of steel and concrete, passed by almost unrecognizable degrees into the will to tolerate a small defeat for the good of the soul of France" (p. 193). The reviewer agrees with the thesis, not sufficiently elaborated, that the pro-fascist bias of the French Rightists led them to advocate a policy of appeasement and finally of collaboration; it is misleading and dangerous to emphasize the guilt of the few and pass lightly over that of the

many. The oversimplifications of this book are as regrettable as the frequent inaccuracies. It is incorrect to state that the French general elections of 1936 preceded the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War (p. 98), or that the Popular Front began by an alliance of the Socialists with the Radical-Socialists (p. 99). Flandin cannot be accused of having been the foremost appeaser in March, 1936 (pp. 92 ff., 201); the shift in his attitude toward Germany dates from the end of 1937. Laval signed the Franco-Russian pact before destroying it (p. 89). We also are told that "two million magnificent Czech soldiers with their five armored divisions would have fought Germany in 1938 . . . she would have had to oppose five panzer divisions to eight and a half Franco-Czechs' plus the Russians'." "Only the obstinate blindness of a Pétain, a Daladier, a Chamberlain, could have refused to face such elementary arithmetic as this" (p. 113). Perhaps a little too elementary.

CHARLES MICAUD

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O. J. Falnes

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

Ernst Posner

THE GERMAN ARMY. By *Herbert Rosinski*. Revised edition. (Washington, Infantry Journal, 1944, pp. 228, \$3.00.) "Has been thoroughly rewritten because of new material available since the first American edition in 1940. Only the first four chapters remain substantially the same except for the section on the evolution of the German school of strategy."

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

- WHITE SMOKE OVER THE VATICAN. By *Don Sharkey*. (Milwaukee, Bruce, 1944, pp. 182, \$2.00.) "A layman's history of the Holy See and of the Papacy, and a survey of the Vatican's present diplomatic activities and powers."

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RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

- THE UNKNOWN ARMY: THE NATURE AND HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN MILITARY FORCES. By *Nikolaus Basseches*. Translated by *Marion Saerchinger*. (New York, Viking Press, 1943, pp. 239, \$2.50.) Mr. Basseches is not a professional

historian but a former member of the Austrian consular service and a journalist. His acquaintance with Russian history and military institutions would seem insufficient to support the framework of a book covering "the nature and history" of Russian military institutions from 862 A.D. to 1936. What he presents is in reality a series of badly organized essays on the social and political aspects of the Russian army. There is no documentation, and the reader is at a loss to know where Mr. Basseches is giving his own opinion and where he is utilizing what he calls his careful study of "the copious and freely accessible Russian military literature." Two features of the book deserve commendation. One is the author's attempt to show a historical continuity in the development of Russian military institutions. The other is his treatment of the troublesome question of the political commissar in the Red Army. Aside from these admirable features, the reader who wants a dependable account of the evolution of the present Russian army will be well advised to study Mr. D. Fedotoff White's thoroughgoing and well-documented *The Growth of the Red Army* (Princeton, 1944). Having pointed out the two features of Mr. Basseches' book which impress the reviewer as being praiseworthy, attention should be called to its obvious faults and shortcomings. Several pages are devoted to repeating apocryphal legends about Alexander Nevsky, Potemkin, Suvorov, and Kutusov, while the impact of the first World War on the Russian army is dismissed (p. 70) in two short paragraphs. Dogmatic statements of the following type appear (p. 77), "the Russian peasant is an anarchist. He is not an individualist, not even an individual anarchist, and therefore (in 1917) he was for Lenin." On page 104 we encounter the following curious doubletalk: "Although the new army [*i.e.*, the Red Army] was not to be Russian; it was nevertheless to be closely bound up with the people, a part of the population itself. The individual Russian was still the same peasant. So the Russian element was bound, as always, to come to the fore." Whatever this may mean, it does not help us understand the "unknown army." Unsupported generalizations, such as his claim (p. 164) that the Osoaviokhim erected parachute towers in *every* Russian village and that *not a single non-commissioned officer* in the imperial army (p. 213) could read a map, reveal Mr. Basseches' weaknesses as a credible reporter.

H. A. DEWEERD

MANAGEMENT IN RUSSIAN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE. By Gregory Bienstock *et al.* Edited by Arthur Feiler and Jacob Marschak. [Studies of the Institute of World Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1944, pp. 230, \$3.00.) "The first book to be published under the auspices of the Institute of World Affairs, established by the New School for Social Research, this study is concerned with the work of the managers of plants and the chairmen and other officers of collective farms in Russia."

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FAR EASTERN HISTORY

E. H. Pritchard

MY LIFE IN CHINA, 1926-1941. By Hallett Abend. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1943, pp. viii, 396, \$3.00.) Hallett Abend had the good fortune to work in China as a correspondent of the *New York Times* during a very stirring and eventful period. To be sure, *My Life in China, 1926-1941*, like most foreign correspondents' books in recent years, is more an account of Hallett Abend and his journalistic scoops, quarrels, and prognostications than it is of China and the turbulent events of those years. Nevertheless, Mr. Abend saw a great deal and his book makes interesting reading. Mr. Abend arrived in China during the early days of the 1926-27 revolution, watched the unification and modernization of China under Chiang Kai-shek, and witnessed three years of Japanese aggression. Unfortunately for the readers of the *New York Times* during most of those years, Mr. Abend also reached China just in time to acquire a good deal of what is sometimes called the "treaty port mentality" of the large group of foreigners in China who neither understood nor liked the Chinese and thought of them only as backward and corrupt. Even a reader who did not at the time follow Mr. Abend's dispatches to the *Times* has the feeling after reading the early chapters of this book that the Chinese possibly had some grounds for demanding Mr. Abend's deportation in 1929. About this controversy Mr. Abend says on page 114, "most of the standpat diehards and business men—vociferously backed my cause.—However, the so-called forward-looking groups, including business circles—condemned me and supported the Chinese government. Most of the Protestant missionaries also condemned me." Probably the judgments of the same groups would be the same today about Mr. Abend's early work in China. His experiences after 1937, however, mostly in Shanghai, succeeded in making him somewhat more pro-Chinese and very much more anti-Japanese than he had been before, and the later chapters of the book have somewhat more value than the earlier ones.

ELEANOR LATTIMORE

PEOPLES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA. By Bruno Lasker. Prepared under the auspices of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations. (New York, Knopf, 1944, pp. viii, 288, x, \$3.00.) This is an economic and sociological study of the Philippines, Thailand, Indo-China, Burma, Malaya, and the Dutch East Indies. The first part describes the occupations of the peoples. One chapter deals with the primitive tribes

of the mountains and jungles who live by hunting and in some cases combine this with shifting cultivation. Next come chapters on the settled agriculturists who form the vast bulk of the population. They may be roughly divided into those who consume most of what they grow and those who produce foodstuffs and raw materials for the world markets. This is followed by a chapter on native handicrafts and the chances of their survival. The second section of the book deals with the vague unrest that is beginning to affect the peoples of Southeastern Asia. One cause is hostility to the Chinese middlemen and moneylenders who exploit them. Others are the changes introduced into traditional village life by governmental social services and, for those producing for world markets, the economic instability caused by sharp fluctuations in the prices of their exports. The third section discusses the author's proposals for the future. They are very similar to those outlined by the British government. Mr. Lasker would return the dependencies to the former colonial powers and leave them to promote self-government and improvement of living standards. Their work should be supervised by an international regional commission with advisory powers. The author's method of treating Southeastern Asia as a unit sometimes leads him to make without qualification general statements which are correct for some parts but not for others. The account of labor conditions on the Malayan rubber estates is highly inaccurate; and debt slavery was abolished in the early decades of British rule.

LENNOX A. MILLS

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United States History

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

- DUTCH EMIGRATION TO NORTH AMERICA, 1624-1860: A SHORT HISTORY.
By Bertus Harry Wabeke. [Booklets of the Netherlands Information Bureau, No. 10.]
(New York, Netherlands Information Bureau, 1944, pp. 160, 75 cents.) The Netherlands Information Bureau has varied the program of bureaus usually devoted to cur-

rent matters by sponsoring and publishing this interesting historical sketch. Students of immigration will appreciate it. The author, now in the armed services, is a citizen of the United States who has spent much of his life in South Africa and the Netherlands. His training was in the University of Leyden under Professor Huizinga.

A PILGRIMAGE OF LIBERTY: A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT OF THE TRIUMPHAL TOUR OF GENERAL LAFAYETTE THROUGH THE SOUTHERN AND WESTERN STATES IN 1825, AS REPORTED BY THE LOCAL NEWSPAPERS. Compiled and edited by *Edgar Ewing Brandon*, Dean Emeritus, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. (Athens, Lawhead Press, 1944, pp. 487, \$3.00.) Lafayette's famous tour of the United States is best known through the journal of his secretary, M. Levasseur. The present volume deals with it from the point of view of the American people, reproducing contemporary press notices as they appeared in the communities visited by the marquis. There was much sameness in the celebrations staged in one town after another as the distinguished visitor passed through, but, taken together, they form a striking picture of American society as it existed in 1825. It was society taking a holiday, but there is some truth in the idea that men may be best known by their diversions. The world has rarely seen in time of peace a greater display of spontaneous enthusiasm than was exhibited on this occasion. America was paying its last great tribute to the heroes of the Revolution, and the people took their heroes and their democracy seriously. We are still doubtless a hardy and a patriotic people, but modern America could scarcely endure the unending processions, dinners, toasts, balls, and speeches that were joyfully undertaken in 1825. Never was there a ray of humor or the shadow of a doubt, and many a tear filled the eye of the aged veteran as he pressed the hands of his old companions in the struggle for freedom. This jubilant democracy was decked out with much pomp and circumstance. Military escorts in gay uniforms paraded in every town, and governors and their suites accompanied the venerable hero from city to city. Women took a secondary part in it all, not appearing at the public dinners, but the thirteenth toast regularly celebrated "our fair countrywomen." The parts of the journey not covered by the press are filled in from Levasseur and other sources. In collecting his material, the editor visited nearly all the places where Lafayette stopped. He familiarized himself with the local history of many of these communities, and the resultant work is eloquent of the great care with which its preparation was accomplished. THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY

THE EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL, 1867-1943. By *James Arthur Muller*. (Cambridge, Episcopal Theological School, 1943, pp. x, 246.) This is an excellent study not to be neglected by historians of the growth of theological liberalism or by those interested in the academic mind. The latter will find more than one revealing and amusing anecdote in a text which reveals the petty as well as the great.

ORESTES BROWNSON: YANKEE, RADICAL, CATHOLIC. By *Theodore Maynard*. (New York, Macmillan, 1943, pp. xvi, 456, \$3.00.) More than once in this biography, Orestes Brownson seems about to suffer the fate of those unhappy candidates for the doctor's degree who at their own oral examinations are, from time to time, trampled under foot and forgotten, while their examiners battle among themselves. As a Roman Catholic, Theodore Maynard writes to refute Protestant biographers and historians in general. In particular, he is determined to correct the misapprehension that Brownson went into the Catholic church to seek peace or that he found it there, to correct the errors in the life of Brownson (1939) by Arthur Schlesinger, jr., and most of all to reply to the earlier biography (1933) by Doran Whalen (Sister Rose Gertrude Whalen, C. S. C.). Two courses were open to Mr. Maynard. He might admit that there was

dignity and elevation in the Transcendentalism which Brownson renounced and thus, by implication, make his acceptance of Catholicism doubly significant. Or he might minimize what Brownson left behind and thus render his entry into the Catholic faith less notable. Mr. Maynard chose the second course and repeatedly derogates Brownson's early associates in Protestantism and their doctrines. Typical is his adroit depreciation of Ralph Waldo Emerson: Emerson "admitted to having, like puss, a retractile claw"; he "did hardly more than dip into books, fishing there for aphorisms to be thrown out glitteringly in his lectures, or for names with which to besprinkle them"; Emerson's poems, according to Brownson, "are not sacred chants; they are hymns to the devil"—a verdict which Mr. Maynard accepts. In all of these forays and rebuttals, Brownson is never actually submerged; he was too burly and tempestuous ever to become a minor figure in his own biography. Roaring and thundering, he passed from Presbyterianism to Universalism; became a friend of Robert Dale Owen, Fanny Wright, and the Brook Farmers; joined the Unitarians; founded his own church, the Society for Christian Union and Progress; reconciled himself with the Trinity and entered the Catholic church. I cannot say whether Mr. Maynard is correct in his statement that Brownson's was "the largest and most luminous mind produced by Catholicism in America"—but I hope he is wrong. TREMAINE McDOWELL

CHARLES J. BONAPARTE, PATRICIAN REFORMER: HIS EARLIER CAREER.

By *Eric F. Goldman*. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXI, Number 2.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1943, pp. 150, xiv, \$1.50.) The contrast between this study and Mr. Bishop's earlier biography of Bonaparte illustrates the value of trained scholarship. Long quotations made the Bishop biography a useful collection of Bonaparte writings. Mr. Bishop, however, contented himself largely with Bonaparte papers and used these admiringly and uncritically. Mr. Goldman has worked prodigiously, ferreting out unexplored materials. In the Bonaparte collection itself, his trained eyes saw and used numerous items that Mr. Bishop overlooked or thought insignificant. Mr. Goldman works critically. Still he is no debunker. He does ably the interpreting that popularizers often essay but, for lack of training, do unsoundly. He applies the tools of the trained historian but has the imagination to do what too few scholars ever try—to interpret and explain Bonaparte. His analysis of the "patrician reformer" gives the book value beyond Bonaparte's own career and throws light on his chief, Theodore Roosevelt. Yet Mr. Goldman is also master of a style that makes a doctoral dissertation more readable than journalist Bishop's earlier biography. The book is heavy with footnotes, but Mr. Goldman forces one to read even these by hiding away in them some of his most interesting material instead of burdening the text with explanatory matter. In an otherwise meticulous piece of work the author lets a good story entice him into incorporating, with some misgiving and at undue length, the oft-repeated but unfounded tale purporting to explain Straus's cabinet appointment. The book deals somewhat hastily with Bonaparte's early career and his civil service reform activities, then treats in the proportion of a full-sized biography Bonaparte's service as Indian commissioner, special assistant to the Attorney General in the Post Office Department investigation, investigator of Indian affairs in Oklahoma, his secretaryship of the Navy, and then stops just as Bonaparte is appointed Attorney General, in which position Bonaparte probably felt he did his most important work. Undoubtedly exigencies of war and requirements of the Johns Hopkins degree forced premature publication. It is regrettable nonetheless that what might well have been the definitive biography of Bonaparte had to appear in truncated form. But it can thus remain a monument to what dissertations could be, if brilliantly done, and usually are not.

HOWARD K. BEALE

RANDOLPH BOURNE. By *Louis Filler*. Introduction by Max Lerner. (Washington, American Council on Public Affairs, 1943, pp. xi, 158, cloth \$3.00, paper \$2.50.) This is the story of the "flying wedge" of the pre-World War I younger generation. The life of Randolph Bourne, who died in 1918 at the age of thirty-two, was brief but crowded, from boyhood in Bloomfield, New Jersey, a high-school oration on "Washington's Campaigns in New Jersey," great teachers at Columbia, and a master's thesis on the "suburbanization" of a town, to a Gilder fellowship, travel abroad, then Greenwich Village in salon days, the "Promise of America," and some four short years of crusading. He symbolized the "Young Idea"; his motto, Van Wyck Brooks has said, might have been "*Place aux jeunes*." From his pen poured a torrent of social criticism—thinking and writing that (to use some of Max Lerner's kindly adjectives) were corrosive, incisive, flashing, deeply founded. *Youth and Life* appeared in 1913 (before the European journey); the *Gary Schools* and *Toward an Enduring Peace* in 1916; *Education and Living* in 1917; and *Untimely Papers* and the *History of a Literary Radical* after Bourne died at the end of a war he hated and opposed. He was a social critic who became, in Mr. Lerner's opinion, "too consistent" a faultfinder with the institutions of his day and lost touch with "the people themselves." He is important not as a "reformer in action" but as a "master-craftsman in words" whose "core instincts were social." He struck out on four levels: in education theory, as a disciple of John Dewey who found the Gary system the answer to modern educational problems; in interpreting our culture, as a believer in "transnational America" who rejected the melting-pot theory; in the realm of politics and the state, as a crusader for peace who saw war as "the health of the state" and ultimately "rejected the state in principle"; and finally as a literary critic who wrote sensitive essays that reveal him as revolter and poet in one. He was a dissident who fought social injustice and sought beauty. He comes alive in the dramatic pages of Mr. Filler, who interprets him sympathetically yet critically and documents the biography carefully. Mr. Lerner's introduction presents Bourne as "one of the men of moral and intellectual stature of our century." Deformed in body, Bourne lived "the strenuous life in emotional, intellectual, and moral terms." His life was only a passing moment in time but had, "in the Bergsonian sense, duration."

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

26TH DIVISION SUMMARY OF OPERATIONS IN THE WORLD WAR. Prepared by the American Battle Monuments Commission. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1944, pp. x, 85, \$1.25.) Similar summaries will be published for each of the other twenty-seven divisions of the American Expeditionary Force that had front-line battle experience. Summaries of the 7th, 27th, 28th, 32d, 77th, 79th, 81st, and 93d divisions have also appeared.

THE AMERICAN LAND: ITS HISTORY AND ITS USES. By *William R. Van Der-sal*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1943, pp. xvi, 215, \$3.75.) To help people know what they see when they look at the land is what this book undertakes. This is done well by presenting in nontechnical language information about the plants we grow in our fields and gardens, about our woodlands and their utilization, about the new patterns of tillage which preserve our soil against erosion. The very readable result aids not only to an appreciation of the American land but as well to the realization of how it may be more wisely used. The effect is greatly heightened by a rich selection of very pertinent photographs supplied by the Agriculture and Interior departments. Unfortunately the opening paragraphs make a bad impression because of the unqualified presentation of the Kensington Stone myth, uncritically derived, as the author acknowledges, from Hjalmar R. Holand's *Westward from Vinland*. This

error and a few other careless historical generalizations, such as the remark that the Gadsden Purchase was acquired "to straighten out our national boundary," are all the more regrettable because they are not at all essential to the author's objective. The primary emphasis is upon description of the plants grown for economic purposes in the United States. Though fuller information is available in other sources, the historian may find it convenient to remember that here are nine chapters (more than half the book) on the origin or introduction of our cultivated plants, on their breeding, their diseases, their improvement, and on their production and distribution. This information is organized in a mixed economic and biological classification—a method which in the main best serves the author's purpose, though it of course permits only a very much interrupted narrative of agriculture or of horticulture and interferes with a regional view of our vegetation. The lack of the latter is a serious shortcoming, for aside from incidental comments on certain plants, there is little attention to ecology. Nowhere, for example, is there a summary of the soil provinces of the nation. The historian of the Middle West will be particularly disappointed in a biologist's evasion of the problem of the prairie. The index is adequate, and though a bibliography is not obligatory in a book so obviously intended for the more casual lay reader, the author's acknowledgments give ample clues as to his sources and useful hints to those whose curiosity has been aroused but not completely satisfied.

HERMAN R. MUELDER

MAJORITY RULE AND MINORITY RIGHTS. By *Henry Steele Commager*. [James W. Richards Lectures in History, University of Virginia.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1943, pp. 92, \$1.50.) Three lectures, delivered in the *sanctum sanctorum* of Jefferson-worship, present the master's teachings upon the above topic; also on democracy and judicial review and on the Jeffersonian solution. The last named is self-education. Let the people experiment on governing themselves. Mistakes they will make, due to confusion and ignorance. To correct those mistakes, after the clarifying enlightenment of their own experience, is their duty. The people must be treated not as children, tied to nurses' apron strings, but as "adults whom I freely leave to self-government." Here is an onslaught on the institution of judicial review, not in its essence but as practiced since *Marbury vs. Madison*. The case record is minutely surveyed, and we see how, against Jefferson's protest, the Federalist party, beaten at the polls, retreated to the strategic heights of the judiciary. There rules an entrenched oligarchy that is tender to privileged property rights, censorious in vetoing legislative policies for human progress, almost never exercising its vaunted function of protecting persecuted minorities against invasion by a despotic majority. The author does not suppose that judicial review can be abolished: it is here to stay. But it should be kept to its true function, that of preserving the Federal system, though even here history shows that Congress and the presidency have been equal participants. In the field of personal liberties the record of the court is practically barren, so far as Federal legislation is concerned. Many of the judicial nullifications of Federal legislation have been cancelled out by constitutional amendment, by improved legislation, or by judicial reversal. The crucial matter of this indictment is that we have been accustoming ourselves to reliance on courts to do what representative legislatures should do. Constitutionality becomes the principal criterion. But if the judiciary too freely (and without popular responsibility) exercises legislative veto, popular discussion and elected representatives' constitutional discretion are stultified. Arrogation of legislative power by courts has led to abdication of legislative power by voters and representatives, a vicious spiral against whose consequences some of our most distinguished judges have protested. Jefferson's position is confirmed by the juristic philosophy of Justices Holmes and Frankfurter.

HENRY R. SPENCER

LEND-LEASE: WEAPON FOR VICTORY. By *Edward R. Stettinius, jr.* (New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. xiv, 358, \$3.00.) In the summer of 1943, Lend-Lease was little more than two years old, but already so tremendous in scope and novel in form that this report of progress by Administrator Stettinius is of unusual interest. The mid-1943 total of almost \$13,000,000,000, representing some 12 per cent of all war expenditures, is eclipsed today, but the range and variety of the undertaking were already evident. Under Lend-Lease were included not only planes and tanks but countless raw and manufactured products, food, and services. This part of America's war effort extended not only to numerous fighting fronts but also to the transportation routes serving them. The material facts of Lend-Lease are impressive, but it is in the careful and challenging presentation of the principles and the less tangible aspects of the program that Mr. Stettinius does his most significant writing. Lend-Lease is a revolutionary attack on a harassing problem. As Ambassador Halifax declared on the March, 1944, anniversary of Lend-Lease, the plan created a "common pool . . . to which each would contribute according to his power, and draw according to his needs." As the dollar resources of England neared exhaustion in 1940, the United States had to choose between a repetition of the unhappy experience of war loans and the President's suggestion that available war materials be freely supplied to whomsoever fought the common enemy. To those concerned about "our money's worth," Mr. Stettinius describes the large and growing volume of Reverse Lend-Lease, but he emphasizes the futility of attempting to weigh the value of Lend-Lease materials against the lives and property poured by our Allies into this war. "The principle of mutual aid in mutual self-interest that is embodied in the Lend-Lease Act must live on," providing a material basis for liberty, happiness, and lasting peace.

WILFRED O. STOUT, JR.

BOOKLETS RELATING TO NATIONAL HISTORICAL AREAS. Prepared by the Department of Interior. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 10 cents per booklet.) The areas treated by these booklets include national monuments and battlefield sites relating to the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the Civil War, Indian wars, and historical sites relating to the Southwest Indians, the colonial period, and the Westward Movement. The booklets, numbering forty, were prepared by the National Park Service, which administers these areas. Each booklet, of fifteen pages, is printed under a large format. The treatment is descriptive, stressing the nature and historical significance of the events which occurred within the area. Some attention is given to the efforts by which these areas have been restored and preserved for the benefit of future generations. The well-written narrative is supported by excellent sketches, prints, photographs, and maps. Some of the maps detail the historical action that occurred within the area and its structure. Others locate the area in reference to main highways for the convenience of history-minded travelers. These booklets should be of interest to the scholar and teacher of American history for the detail and illustrations which they present. They should be of particular interest to the layman and the traveler who wish on occasion to visit the shrines relating to the history of our nation. Their major contribution should be the popularization of our historical heritage.

R. W. CORDIER

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS. Edited by *Leland M. Goodrich*, Director, World Peace Foundation, and *Marie J. Carroll*, Chief, Reference Service. Volume V, JULY, 1942-JUNE, 1943. (Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1944, pp. xxxv, 735, \$3.75.)

BROWN AMERICANS: THE STORY OF A TENTH OF THE NATION. By *Edwin R. Embree*. (New York, Viking Press, 1943, pp. vi, 248, \$2.75.) Mr. Embree might almost be said to have inherited a tendency toward racial democracy, since he spent his childhood at Berea College in Kentucky, founded by his grandfather. This "established outpost in the fight for freedom" started as a "co-educational" school, by which was meant the joint education of Negroes and whites. Mr. Embree has followed his early environmental leanings throughout his life. For the past fifteen years he has been the president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund and is able to speak not merely as an authority on race matters but, most fortunately, in a pleasant and highly readable fashion. When Mr. Embree first wrote *Brown Americans* in 1931, the situation of Negroes in the United States was even less happy than it is today. Since then the white light of the "Democratic way of life" has been focused upon it. Among the conflicting definitions of "democracy," the one which seems to be holding the lead is "majoritarian rule," or the will of the 50 per cent plus. There are two important corollaries to this system: no strong minority can impose its will through the secret or avowed exercise of wealth or power; weak minorities must be allowed to express their will through all known and available means of communication. No one can predict at what point such opinions will become the flying wedge of progress. In view of the recent upsurge of the Negro race toward the fulfillment of its potentialities and its better integration into the life stream of America, Mr. Embree has considered that a reordering in the light of the past decade and an amplification and bringing up to date of that earlier volume would be useful. And so it is. In part he points with shame to the violent discrepancies which occur between the theories of democracy and the practices: discrimination in matters of health, education, legal redress, economic security, and the pursuit of happiness—the inalienable rights of all Americans. And he makes it very clear that so long as these practices are continued it is not the Negro alone who suffers but the rest of the country that is threatening itself with many hazards and depriving itself of many opportunities for enrichment. In part, Mr. Embree points with pride to the Negro's record of achievement, in spite of these practices which tend to keep him in enslavement. On the whole, he concludes that the outlook is hopeful, though we still have far to go. *Brown Americans* is a plea for better understanding. It is an exposition of the multitudinous aspects of the Negro situation in this country and their profound significance in a world battle for human rights.

RACKHAM HOLT

13 **AGAINST THE ODDS.** By *Edwin R. Embree*. (New York, Viking Press, 1944, pp. 261, \$2.75.) By a referendum of two hundred leading Negroes, Mr. Embree selected the thirteen living Negroes whose biographies are given in this volume. Many other names, as outstanding in many ways as those included, had to be excluded. Those whose biographies are given are Mary McLeod Bethune, Richard Wright, Charles S. Johnson, Walter White, George Washington Carver, Langston Hughes, Marian Anderson, W. E. B. Du Bois, Mordecai W. Johnson, William Grant Still, A. Philip Randolph, Joe Louis, and Paul Robeson. The treatment is sympathetic but objective. The total record makes a gallant showing for those who have come up against odds. The fields in which the thirteen have made their contributions are widely scattered, with nearly half in music, drama, and literature.

INTRODUCTION TO NAVAL HISTORY: AN OUTLINE WITH DIAGRAMS AND GLOSSARY. By *Jacques Barzun, Paul H. Beik, George Crothers, and E. O. Golob*, Department of History, Columbia College, Columbia University. (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott, 1944, pp. 246, \$1.50.)

GROWTH OF A UNION: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF EDWARD FLORE. By *Jay Rubin* and *M. J. Obermeier*. (New York, Historical Union Association, 1943, pp. 335, \$3.00.) "A history of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders International League, A. F. of L. and a biography of its president, Edward Flore."

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

- "THE OLD VIRGINIA GENTLEMAN" AND OTHER SKETCHES BY GEORGE W. BAGBY. Edited and arranged by his daughter, *Ellen M. Bagby*. (Richmond, Dietz Press, 1943, pp. xxvii, 308.) The fourth edition of the writings of Dr. Bagby, containing upwards of thirty selections, differs from its immediate predecessor only in the addition of one paper; but it is appropriately noted here because the third edition (1938) received no notice in this *Review*. Dr. Bagby's local fame as an interpreter of Virginia life, both serious and comic, was so great in his own period that he should not be overlooked. This volume reproduces the preface to the edition of 1910 by Thomas Nelson Page and the introduction to the edition of 1938 by Douglas S. Freeman. Bagby's fellow Virginians have given him distinguished sponsorship and have been desirous that he receive his full meed of honor. He died in 1883, however, and no reader can escape the conclusion that his work is sharply dated. The title sketch, originally written in the interest of the Virginia Historical Society, was described in 1877 by the author himself as a conscious and deliberate idealization. It is not wholly uncritical, and it contains descriptive details which still have value; but the emotional coloration is such that the picture is unrealistic. The Virginia gentleman now needs no eulogy; he speaks more convincingly from his historic record. There is more

restraint in Dr. Bagby's earlier pieces. The sketch entitled "John M. Daniel's Latchkey," for example, is an admirable piece of historical portraiture. In most of the others, however, the very language sounds exaggerated, if not artificial. Place can be found in the American tradition for his exaggerated humorous pieces, which contributed so greatly to his local popularity as a lecturer. One of them, "How Rubinstein Played," has become a classic of its kind. He probably evoked roars rather than chuckles, but there are still plenty of chuckles in the sketch called "Meekins's Twinses" and elsewhere. Dr. Bagby by no means confined himself to gentlemen of high estate; there is a homeliness about his humor which was characteristic of the rural South and, indeed, of rural America. The lecture "Bacon and Greens" might just as well have been written about Georgia; and in other states one might have found a counterpart of Uncle Ben Hollins, who discourses so sagely about whiskey. Like the author, however, this book is predominantly Virginian. It is not out of the great tradition of national leadership but out of the ashes of the post-bellum era, when gaiety was forced and nostalgia was overwhelming. To the historian it has greatest value, perhaps, in revealing the intense local loyalty which profound tragedy engendered. DUMAS MALONE

ADDRESSES, LETTERS, AND PAPERS OF CLYDE ROARK HOEY, GOVERNOR OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1937-1941. Edited by *David Leroy Corbitt*, Chief Library Assistant, State Department of Archives and History. (Raleigh, Council of State, State of North Carolina, 1944, pp. xxxi, 869.)

NEW VIEWPOINTS IN GEORGIA HISTORY. By *Albert B. Saye*, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Georgia. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1943, pp. vii, 256, \$2.50.) The opening chapter of this study gives the book its sole claim to the impressive title it bears. The author, who demonstrates thorough scholarship throughout the six chapters, does not pretend to have discovered viewpoints that historians of the colonial period have not long suspected. He gives a thorough exposition of the genesis of Georgia and produces new evidence which helps to contradict the debtor legend that has always loomed large in the public mind. The older writers of Georgia's story drew their evidence for the debtor thesis largely from the colony's charter. None of these writers gave the theory the emphasis that the popular mind has attached to it. The youngest of these historians, Charles Colcock Jones (1831-93), used a bibliography that was comprehensive for his day and included some British sources. He was perhaps the first to suggest caution in the interpretation of the debtor thesis. Subsequent authors discovered the presence in Georgia's background of the Bray Associates, identified with charitable and philanthropic activities in England. Professor Saye points out that the relationship between the Bray Associates and the first board of trustees of Georgia has been overemphasized. He shows that a majority of the trustees were members of parliament and that they became Bray Associates because of their interest in the Georgia project. Since the trustees received most of their financial support from parliament, the objectives of that body in granting this support give the true index to the nature of the colony. It was designed largely on the mercantilist pattern prevalent in eighteenth century England. The possibility of silk culture was stressed particularly. The relief of debtors was one among many objectives hit upon in rapid succession by the originators. "It was only in the pre-Charter period that the debtor idea was intended to be a part of even the philanthropy, let alone the principal phase of the whole enterprise." The British government opposed migration at this time, and perhaps no more than a dozen released debtors found their way to the new colony. Thus there was in Georgia's original make-up more of German, Scotch, Jewish, Irish, or perhaps Portuguese, than of released debtors. The author points out the absence of part of the

journal of the earl of Egmont and all of his more revealing diary in the *Colonial Records of Georgia*. An examination of these and of contemporary newspaper accounts would have long ago completely dissipated the false theory concerning Georgia's origin. Most of the book is devoted to a detailed study of Georgia's colonial and early state governments, covering the period before 1789. It is thoroughly and competently done and provides a valuable contribution to the literature of the colonial period.

JAMES C. BONNER

A COLLECTION OF HAYNE LETTERS. Edited by *Daniel Morley McKeithan*. (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1944, pp. xix, 499.) The *Dictionary of American Biography* says of the poet Paul Hamilton Hayne, "There is no adequate biography of Hayne, no volume of his letters." This publication, with 245 Hayne letters, including letters to Howells, Longfellow, Lowell, Simms, Whittier, and Moses Coit Tyler; among others, fills the second gap. The book is amply footnoted.

THE PROHIBITION MOVEMENT IN ALABAMA, 1702 TO 1943. By *James Benson Sellers*, Department of History, University of Alabama. [The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Volume 26, Number 1.] (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 1943, pp. vii, 325, \$2.25.) Since the publication of Scomp's *King Alcohol in the Realm of Cotton* in the middle eighties, few historical studies of the antiliquor movement in Southern states have appeared. For this neglect Dr. Sellers now does much to atone. His interest lies primarily in political aspects and, consequently, in years which Scomp did not cover. He finds that temperance necessarily became a political question when legislation was first sought in the middle fifties; that politicians frowned upon the departure from "moral suasion" until its supporters were so numerous and so well organized that its support was a political asset; that after an alliance was formed between the prohibitionists (led by the Anti-Saloon League) and some of the politicians in 1907, contests with the "wets" and their political allies were perennial, with neither side ever winning a complete victory. The presentation is mainly through extracts or summaries drawn from extensive research among church and temperance society minutes, secular and religious newspapers, and, of course, laws and election returns and statistics of law enforcement. This method sometimes makes reading dull and discovery of decisive actions difficult, but it will probably insure the book a deserved place on the shelves of temperance workers, Alabama politicians, and local as well as state historians and historical repositories. Ungrateful as it may be in a beneficiary, there are still some questions on which the reviewer would like more light. Among them are these: Why was the antiliquor sentiment strongest in rural areas—if because of the Negro, why is the Negro not mentioned save in early post-bellum days? Were there no contributions to antiprohibition's expensive financing save by outside liquor interests—by local distilleries, for example? And who financed the Anti-Saloon League—outsiders, local industrialists, or just the rank and file? What were the relations (if any) between the prohibitionists and the contemporary Ku-Klux Klan? Was there some change in the churches' conception of Christianity which impelled them to enter politics, and what was the effect of the venture upon the churches? Some of these questions, of course, do not relate directly to the prohibition movement in its political aspects. But that fact raises the further query, can an anti-liquor movement be divorced quite so far from its social and economic background without inviting just such questions?

C. C. PEARSON

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

ANTE-BELLUM KENTUCKY: A SOCIAL HISTORY, 1800-1860. By *F. Garvin Davenport*, Transylvania College. [Annals of America, Volume V.] (Oxford, Mississippi Valley Press, 1943, pp. xviii, 238, \$3.50.) Within the limits of two hundred pages Professor Davenport has surveyed a great many aspects of life in ante-bellum Kentucky. An opening chapter describes housing conditions, food, clothing, and agricultural methods in rural sections and is followed by an equally broad chapter on life in towns. The leading collegiate institutions are treated in the third chapter. Chapter iv relates the crusade for public education, with an evaluation of the results achieved. "Lancet, Pill, and Scalpel" is the chapter heading for an interesting discussion of leading Kentucky doctors and the state of medical knowledge. Other aspects of scientific advancement are treated in a separate chapter. Chapter vii describes the great revival which affected Kentucky at the opening of the period under survey and summarizes the history of the various churches for the whole period. Chapter viii pictures the development of law, penal administration, the movement to provide public care for mental cases, and the advancement made in giving state aid to the training of the deaf and blind. Chapter ix traces the growth of the artistic spirit—architecture, painting, and sculpture. In a concluding chapter devoted to Kentucky literature the writer touches novels, poetry, history, ballads, magazines, and newspapers produced within the state. Although the crudities of Western social life are not wholly ignored, the writer has directed his attention largely to cultural interests and social progress rather than to social history in its broadest sense. Even this self-imposed limiting of the scope of the book has not made it possible for the author consistently to offer fresh material. In two pages on the Catholic church, for example, it is extremely difficult to do more than summarize what is already available at greater length in other publications. All too often the new material is submerged by the necessity of carrying a summary picture of other things in the same field, with the result that the reader is left with the impression of having read nothing new. On the other hand, the volume consistently provides a convenient summary of the topics treated. There seem to be more than the usual number of typographical errors and inconsistencies of form.

LEWIS E. ATHERTON

DEBATES OF THE MISSOURI CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1875. Edited by *Isidor Loeb* and *Floyd C. Shoemaker*. Volumes XI and XII. (Columbia, State Historical Society of Missouri, 1943, 1944, pp. 560; 713.)

OUT OF THE MIDWEST: A COLLECTION OF PRESENT-DAY WRITING. Edited by *John T. Frederick*. (New York, Whittlesey House, 1944, pp. xviii, 405, \$3.50.) This volume gathers up a miscellany of recent regional writings under the following divisions: The Cities; Ohio, Indiana, Lower Michigan; Upper Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota; the Dakotas, Nebraska, Western Kansas; Missouri and Eastern Kansas; and Iowa and Illinois. It presents pieces by Harold Titus, Ben Hecht, Albert Halper, James T. Farrell, Della T. Lutes, August Derleth, Paul Corey, Paul Engle, Phil Stong, Ruth Suckow, and many others. "A good regional writer," according to the editor, who founded the *Midland* magazine in 1915, "is a good writer who uses regional materials." The reader will find spirited writing and insight in this useful anthology. Its value is sharply limited, however, for it omits history, biography, historical fiction, and poetry, writers whose work does not belong "primarily to the new movement since 1910," even the writings of such authors as Rölvaag and Lewis.

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Latin-American History

James Ferguson King

GENERAL

THE POLITICAL DEFENSE OF THE AMERICAS. By Ezequiel Padilla, Mario de Pimentel Brandão, and José L. Chouhy Terra. [Mexico, Department of State for Foreign Affairs, Bureau of International News Service, National and International Problems Series, No. 18.] (México, D. F., published by Mexican Government, pp. 46.) Addresses by three Latin-American statesmen concerning the Emergency Advisory Committee for the Political Defense of the Hemisphere, established pursuant to a resolution of the Third Consultative Meeting of American Foreign Ministers at Rio de Janeiro in 1942. It contains also the text of a decree, dated July 22, 1943, establishing a national emergency committee for political defense in Mexico.

THE POWER WITHIN US: CABEZA DE VACA'S RELATION OF HIS JOURNEY FROM FLORIDA TO THE PACIFIC, 1528-1536. By *Haniel Long*. (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944, pp. 37, \$1.50.)

LATIN AMERICA: AN INTERPRETATION OF MAIN TRENDS IN ITS HISTORY. By *Charles C. Griffin*, Associate Professor of History in Vassar College. [Cornell University Curriculum Series in World History, No. 3.] (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1944, pp. 96, 50 cents.)

THE CARIBBEAN ISLANDS AND THE WAR: A RECORD OF PROGRESS IN FACING STERN REALITIES. [Department of State, Publication 2023.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1943, pp. v, 85, 25 cents.) This study, prepared by the United States Section of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission and published by the Department of State, purports to be "a general survey of the non-military readjustments which the war has made necessary in the Caribbean." Describing first the wartime challenge to the Caribbean economy, it shows the measures that were taken through interagency and international co-operation to meet the emergency problems in that area. Of especial interest are the sections dealing with the Land-Water highway, the emergency food stockpiles financed by the Lend-Lease Administration, the efforts made to alleviate the problems of unemployment, and the present broadcasts on the "West Indian Radio Newspaper" program. Since the commission functions almost entirely as an advisory body, many of the projects described in this study were actually executed by other agencies, but "it initiated some measures, it contributed guidance and orientation to others, and it acted as a 'catalytic agent' in respect to still others." This publication curiously omits mention of the actual measures which brought the various Caribbean countries into the war, as, for example, the declarations of war by Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic after the Pearl Harbor attack. Although the scope of this study is strictly limited to the war years, the historian would like to see a fuller treatment of the long-range problems of this area which afford the only proper and intelligible setting for its war problems. These background problems are occasionally alluded to but are never given the prominence that they receive in Eric Williams, *The Negro in the Caribbean*, to cite only one example. This volume is nevertheless a good factual summary of the impact of the war on the Caribbean. If its treatment of the labor problems in this area is sterilized, the tables and charts on wage data and cost of living are illuminating. As to the results of all these wartime efforts in the Caribbean, the record of political progress here summarized is genuinely disappointing.

DONALD M. DOZER

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COLONIAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

American Historical Association

Plans are going forward for the 1944 meeting of the American Historical Association, December 28 and 29 in Chicago. The Stevens Hotel will be the headquarters. In accordance with the request of the Office of Defense Transportation the meeting will avoid week-ends. For the same reason the meeting, like the last two in Washington and New York, will depend principally upon the attendance and active interest of Chicago and its tributary territory.

The American Historical Association is simplifying its records by billing all members so that all memberships will run for the fiscal year from September 1 to August 31. A special request is made to the membership for their co-operation and their prompt attention to the statements they received in June. If the account rendered is for a fraction of a year, it will help decidedly if you add the amount of the ensuing year's subscription. The report of no loss in membership made at the Christmas meeting was good news that will bear repeating.

Other Historical Activities

Among the recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: five boxes of papers of Charles McLean Andrews, mainly transcripts, and a diary of 1800; photographic copy of journal of James Cook, first voyage, 1768 to 1771 (National Library, Canberra, Australia); reproductions of Thomas Jefferson materials in other institutions and in private hands; copy of letter-book of the Navy Board for the Eastern Department, October 24, 1778, to October 29, 1779 (New York Public Library); thirteen papers of, or relating to, Sir Charles Stuart, 1799 to 1815 and 1843; 260 papers of the Rodgers family (John Rodgers and others), 1802 to 1888; one volume of letters and copies of forty-one letters, mainly from Benjamin Henry Latrobe to John Lenthall, including a few letters by Thomas Jefferson, March 5, 1803, to May 17, 1808; two large boxes of papers of the Shippen family (restricted); microfilm of fifty-two pages of correspondence 1812-14, Russian offer of mediation (Stanford University); nine volumes of the journal of Harriet Low (the Far East, England, and elsewhere), 1829-34; six boxes of papers of Henry Ward Beecher, 1836-87 (restricted); seven boxes of additional papers of, and relating to, Constance Cary Harrison, 1838, 1861-1943; three boxes of papers of Montgomery Cunningham Meigs, 1850-89, his journal of the Battle of Chattanooga, November 23-25, 1863, and a volume entitled "Notes of Travel in Europe,

1875" (letters to his wife and daughter); photostat of diary of George O. Hand, Union soldier, August 19, 1861, to May 19, 1864; one box of additional papers and diary of Joseph Bloomfield Osborn, 1861-65; one volume of diary of Josephine Forney Roedel, covering journey from Virginia to Pennsylvania and return, October, 1863, to July, 1864; thirty-one letters from John Fiske to Abby Morgan Fiske (his wife), August 24, 1873, to April 8, 1896; two volumes and two loose pieces, including minutes and financial record of the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party, Philadelphia Branch, November 15, 1873, to October 15, 1890; twenty-four papers of Jay Gould (mainly his letters to William Ward), November 29, 1873, to August 26, 1876; twenty-three boxes of papers of Albert Sidney Burlison, 1894 to 1937 (restricted); fourteen boxes of additional papers of Elizabeth Madox Roberts, 1922 to 1941; one large box of Edwin Markham papers and other materials; seven shelves of papers and other materials of, and relating to, May Robson, actress.

The Ninth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States for the fiscal year 1942-43, just issued, discusses the gigantic problem posed by the records of the Federal government—an estimated 16,000,000 cubic feet of them divided about equally between Washington and the field—and the efforts of the National Archives to deal with this problem. Particular emphasis was given during 1942-43 to encouraging better management of current records throughout the government, to obtaining legislation that will facilitate the disposal of records no longer of value, and to the continued accessioning of valuable noncurrent records, as the result of which the National Archives on June 30, 1943, had more than 500,000 cubic feet of records of all types, including maps, motion-picture films, microfilms, and still photographs, in its custody. To conserve paper and funds, the annual report was not printed this year and copies will not be available for general distribution until it is published after the war. To the ever-growing group of War Department field records in the National Archives have been added records of the Arsenals at Springfield, Massachusetts, 1794-1911, Watertown, Massachusetts, 1902-17, and Frankford, Pennsylvania, 1911-30; records of the Fort Omaha Quartermaster, 1866-1900; records of Fort Stevens, Oregon, and Fort Canby (formerly Fort Cape Disappointment), Washington, 1867-1928; correspondence of the Judge Advocate and Quartermaster, Department of Dakota, 1874-1904, and Department of Texas, 1879-1916; and records of the Department of Missouri, 1875-1910, of the Headquarters, Department of the Lakes, 1898-1910, and of the Central Department, 1916-20. Other material recently acquired includes a record set of published charts of coastal waters throughout the world, exclusive of the United States and its possessions, issued by the Hydrographic Office, Navy Department, 1869-1934; about 60,000 photographic negatives with corresponding prints made at the Philadelphia Naval Aircraft Factory of buildings, equipment, and aircraft in construction, 1918-41; records of the headquarters of the Research

Information Committee, 1917-21, relating to the exchange of scientific, technical, and industrial research information among the Allied governments; and records of Shipping Commissioners in fourteen major ports, 1873-1932, consisting of shipping articles and official logbooks of vessels. The latest in the series of *Records Administration Circulars* published by the National Archives is a paper by Vernon G. Setser entitled *Can the War History Projects Contribute to the Solution of Federal Records Problems?* Copies are available upon request from the National Archives so long as the supply lasts.

The Archivist of the United States has announced the appointment to the staff of the Division of War Department Archives of the National Archives of Herbert R. Rifkind, formerly of the Quartermaster General's Office, War Department. Matilda F. Hanson, a member of the staff since 1936, has been made librarian in place of Karl L. Trever, who is assisting the director of Research and Records Description in the administration of the records description program of the National Archives. Members of the staff who have recently entered the armed services include Henry P. Beers and Vernon G. Tate.

President Roosevelt has recently presented to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York, additional sections of his White House files for the period March, 1933, to June, 1943. Two sections are made up of correspondence on national issues arising out of the war effort, such as the rights of Negro citizens with respect to the draft, government civil service, defense production, and the Smith-Connally anti-strike bill. Two other groups of correspondence contain much of interest for future students of the country's political history during the Roosevelt administrations. One consists of applications, endorsements, acceptances, and protests regarding the appointment of Federal officials in the states, 1933-37. The other, covering the same period, is comprised of letters written to the President and other national leaders of the Democratic party by local and state committee members, congressmen, and senators, reporting on political prospects in their districts and making recommendations as to the campaign strategy to be followed; although some of these letters relate to the campaigns preceding the congressional elections of 1934, 1936, and 1938, most of the correspondence centers on the 1936 presidential campaign. Among other materials received from the White House are papers relating to the operations of the National Resources Planning Board, 1934-41; invitations and Christmas greetings, letters accompanying gifts, and correspondence relating to the birthday balls, 1941-42; and copies of the official stenographic reports of the President's addresses for 1943 and of his press conferences for July-December, 1943. The President continues to add to the library's collection of naval manuscripts and prints. He has recently given to the library the journal of the U. S. S. *Hornet*, Alexander Claxton, Commander, March 30-September 22, 1827, and the journal of the U. S. S. *St. Louis*, John D. Sloat, Commander, March 4, 1829-December 9, 1831, as well as a notable col-

lection of prints and lithographs of naval scenes of the War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the Civil War.

Fred W. Shipman, director of the library, is serving as archival adviser to the Subcommittee on Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives of the Allied Control Commission for Italy and is now in that country. According to a *New York Times* dispatch from Naples, Mr. Shipman and Hilary Jenkinson of the Public Records Office, London, are on a tour of inspection that will lead to recommendations in regard to the handling of records in newly occupied territory. Special attention is being given, the dispatch stated, to records that will establish the legal rights of Italian citizens, especially those who have been in concentration camps.

The Guggenheim Foundation has appropriated \$200,000, in addition to its usual fellowship budget, for fellowships exclusively for men and women who are serving the nation in the war effort. Five such fellowships have been granted, one, in the field of history, to Lieutenant George P. Cuttino, State University of Iowa, now serving in the Mediterranean theater, who plans after the war to renew his research into the history of relations between England and France.

The following Guggenheim fellowships for 1944-45 have been awarded for research in historical and related subjects: Henry F. Pringle, Washington, D. C., the preparation of a history of the war on the home front as well as on the military front; Carey McWilliams, Los Angeles, California, a study of the functioning of organized religions as social institutions in the United States; Elizabeth Wilder, Library of Congress, a study of sculpture of the colonial period in Mexico; Jean Charlot, State University of Georgia, a history of the beginnings of the modern Mexican school of mural painting; Howard Baker, Terra Bella, California, a book on early California history; Adrienne Koch, Washington, D. C., a study of the social and political philosophy of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, with emphasis upon understanding the development of the experiment of republicanism as an expression of the "American Enlightenment"; Charles Warren Everett, Columbia University, a study of the American scholar and his relation to the state, centering the work on the career of Edward Everett; Leon Howard, Northwestern University, a study of the early writings of James Russell Lowell, with particular reference to their literary, intellectual, and political backgrounds; Madeleine B. Stern, Long Island City High School, New York, the writing of a biography of Louisa May Alcott; Henrietta Buckmaster, New York City, a biography of the period 1830-65 in New England history, told from the vantage point of William Lloyd Garrison and the antislavery movement; Harold Logan, University of Toronto, a study in the development of trade unionism, particularly as relating to Canada over the period 1919-43, covering both collective bargaining and legislative aspects; Hugh Mason Wade, Cornish, New Hampshire, the completion of a book on French Canada; William Huse Dunham, jr., Yale University, a book on the development of British and imperial loyalties, being a study of the English-

man's attitude toward the person and office of the king, the king's realm, the nation, the empire, and the modern British commonwealth of nations; Sylvia L. Thrupp, University of British Columbia, a study of the theoretical assumptions regarding social structure and the ethical teaching associated with this theory, in the writings of Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus; Josephine Bennett, Hunter College, the cultural development of England from the time of Chaucer to the death of Sir Thomas More.

The Pulitzer Prize for the most significant work in the field of American history in 1943 was awarded to Professor Merle Curti for his volume entitled *The Growth of American Thought* (reviewed in this issue, p. 732). In the field of biography the committee chose Carleton Mabey's *The American Leonardo: A Life of Samuel F. B. Morse* (reviewed in the October issue, p. 127).

Rutgers University has announced the creation of a research council to promote research in all departments of the university. A survey is now being made of personnel and facilities to determine where new funds for research can best be invested. Studies in history and related fields will be encouraged, including those which may be related to any aspect of the war and of postwar developments. Dr. George P. Schmidt, professor of history in the New Jersey College for Women, will represent history and the social sciences on the council. The director of the council is Dr. William H. Cole, professor of physiology and biochemistry at Rutgers since 1928. A special research fund has been placed at the disposal of the council and applications for grants for next year are now being considered.

Among the manuscript accessions of the New York Public Library, the following may be especially noted: diary of John W. Bell, covering the ocean voyage to California in 1849 and the early days of the gold rush; letters of Lydia Maria Childs, 1838-43, covering antislavery and other reform movements; correspondence of Francis P. Corbin and others, 1716-1899, chiefly on plantation life, pre-Civil War South, the Civil War, and Reconstruction; the complete manuscripts and papers of John H. Finley and the records and correspondence of the Palestine Economic Corporation, 1926-38.

The Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Philadelphia, is performing a valuable service in collecting and publishing information about the Germans in America. Its biggest project is the Subject Union Catalogue, an analysis of books and articles, which will serve as a guide to a vast amount of rare and little-known material. At the last report, in October, there were on hand 46,000 cards representing 13,000 titles.

The Vermont Historical Society has announced an annual fellowship for the study and writing of Vermont history. The stipend is \$700 to \$1,000. Application blanks and suggested lists of suitable fields of research are available from the director of the society.

American history was given a special emphasis at the University of Washington, February 21–March 4, 1944, when Professor John D. Hicks of the University of California visited the campus to present a two-week series of lectures and conferences. The program included public meetings for student and community groups and roundtable conferences with high school teachers of the city. Particular attention was given in lectures to the American tradition of democracy, the historical interpretation of political parties in the United States, the roots of American foreign policy, and the place of history among the liberal arts. Roundtable meetings with the teachers were devoted to a discussion of the recent report on American History in Schools and Colleges. Professor Hicks also addressed a conference on Pacific Northwest history, taking as his theme “The Broader Values of Regional History.”

The Missouri Historical Society has recently acquired manuscript material bearing on the early cultural history of the Mississippi Valley, with special reference to the history of the theater. It consists of letters, diaries, and journals of Noah M. Ludlow and Mathew C. Field between the years 1843 and 1878.

The Western Historical Manuscripts Collection of the University of Missouri, established January 1, 1943, with support from the Rockefeller Foundation and the university, has just issued a list of manuscript material garnered in one year's activity. W. Francis English is director of the enterprise, with offices in the university library.

Those interested in the pamphlet *The Preservation of Local Archives*, published by the Public Archives Commission in 1932, may obtain copies from Philip C. Brooks at the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

Professors Johannes Quasten and Stephan Kuttner of the Catholic University of America are the editors of a new journal entitled *Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion* (New York, printed by the Cosmopolitan Science and Art Service Company, 1943, Volume I, pp. 418). Created to provide an additional outlet for the increasing productivity of American scholars in the fields named, *Traditio* will also include those worth-while studies whose complexity and length often bar them from the regular quarterlies, without justifying independent publication as monographs. The first annual volume contains ten such articles from ancient, liturgical, theological, and legal history, and the printing is excellent.

Personal

Worthington W. Phillips, a life member of the Association and a son of Ulric B. Phillips, was killed in action on March 27. He was a second lieutenant in the United States Army Air Corps and a pilot of a Liberator bomber when he met his death.

The essential facts in the life of a great teacher may be quickly catalogued. John Maudgridge Snowden Allison was born July 6, 1888, in Pittsburgh and died April 6. His formal training for his life work was obtained wholly at Princeton University, where he was graduated in 1910 and where he earned his doctorate in 1914. One year (1910-11) was spent at the University of Paris. In the years that followed, Dr. Allison's absorbing interest in France led him to return a score of times, once as a soldier in the American Expeditionary Forces. His life as a teacher was devoted to the students of Yale University, where he rose from the rank of instructor to a professorship and the headship of the department of history (1929). He published studies on *Church and State in the Reign of Louis Philippe* (1916), *Thiers and the French Monarchy* (1926), *Monsieur Thiers* (1932), and *Malesherbes* (1938). Beyond his publications, John Allison did much more for historical studies in the United States than most people know, for he was a sensitive man and a shy one but one of the very great undergraduate teachers in American college ranks. Practically all his energies were spent on the undergraduates: he was instrumental in getting them a robust and attractive curriculum in history; he was in large part responsible for the policy that encouraged and rewarded independent research; he was the force behind the comprehensive examination at the end of senior year. He dined with them, befriended them, plead and fought with them; and always he taught them magnificently. Historically speaking, his success as a teacher began in the early twenties, when he offered an upper-class elective on the Middle Ages. The students got a Middle Ages and a lecture course which were new in their experience. It was crystal clear, it rippled into their notebooks and heads in unforgettable patterns of beautiful logic; it was dramatic and humane, and it was eloquently delivered to them by a man whose consecration to the task was almost religious. They decided they would come back for more. Good students began to think about going on in history and about what graduate school they should go to, and poor students not only did their required reading but were likely to feel ashamed of themselves if they didn't volunteer extra work. All of the students, good, bad, and indifferent, felt his friendliness and his eagerness to help them, and they piled up at his living quarters. A few years after he began it, the Middle Ages course became medieval France. Anyone who spent two years under him got a *cours de civilisation* that was based on years of study and deep feeling for France and the French. And students going out of this course went out with a France which was little stranger to them than parts of their own country. What was more important, they went out with a profound feeling for the value of reading, study, and reflection. John Allison's tribute lies in the devotion of thousands of men whose lives he jogged after the manner of great teachers.

Gabriel Hanotaux, distinguished French diplomat and historian and French foreign minister from 1894 to 1898, died in Paris on April 11 in his ninetieth year. At the time of his death he was dean of the French Academy, to which he

had been elected in 1897. A prolific writer on many historical and public questions, he is best known for his three-volume life of Richelieu (to 1630), a four-volume history of contemporary France (to 1900), and his editorship of a co-operative history of the French nation in fifteen volumes, to which he contributed a volume on the political history from 1804 to 1926.

Alexander J. Wall, director and until 1937 librarian of the New-York Historical Society and a life member of the Association, died in New York, April 15, at the age of fifty-nine. As a teacher at Columbia he organized and gave for the last two years a course in the management of historical museums. Besides a number of bibliographies, Mr. Wall was the author of *The Story of the Convention Army, 1777-83* (1927) and of a *Sketch of the Life of Horatio Seymour* (1929).

Eugene Newton Curtis, a life member of this Association and for several years section editor of the bibliographical notes in the *Review* on modern history, died April 20 in Baltimore, Maryland. Dr. Curtis was born in White Plains, New York, June 23, 1880. He received his bachelor's degree in 1901 from Yale University and his B. D. and A. M. in 1904 from Harvard. He studied in Europe from 1912 to 1914, chiefly in Paris. In 1917 he earned the doctorate at Columbia University. In the preceding two years he taught in the University of Wisconsin. In 1917 he joined the staff of Goucher College as an assistant professor of history and in 1920 was promoted to his professorship. His scholarly interests were primarily in the field of modern French history, with special reference to the period of the French Revolution. Besides historical articles in French and American journals, Dr. Curtis was the author of a monograph on *The French Assembly of 1848 and American Constitutional Doctrines* (1918) and a biography, *Saint Just, Colleague of Robespierre* (1935).

Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, first head of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, died in Washington, D. C., on April 28. He was born in Baltimore, September 26, 1870. He graduated from Johns Hopkins and in 1894 received his doctorate from the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Friedenwald was active both in writing and in promoting historical work. He was the moving spirit in organizing the American Jewish Historical Society and was editor of the *Jewish Year Book*, 1907-13. His published studies dealt with the Continental Congress, the Declaration of Independence, and with the history of the Jews in the British West Indies. As a bibliographer he covered in one study the historical manuscripts in the Library of Congress up to 1901, and in another he calendared the Washington manuscripts in the Library of Congress. Dr. and Mrs. Friedenwald established in 1936 the Friedenwald Foundation for the Promotion of Higher Learning, with headquarters in Baltimore.

The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History were this year delivered by Arthur Charles Cole, professor of American history at Brooklyn

College. The series, sponsored by the graduate school and the department of history at Louisiana State University, was this year entitled "The Yankee in the Ante-Bellum South."

Bert J. Loewenberg, Bronxville, New York, will be visiting professor of American history at the Colegio de Mexico, under the auspices of the Department of State, from May to September, 1944.

A. H. Meneely, professor of history, Dartmouth College, has been appointed president of Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts.

Ray A. Billington of Smith College has been appointed professor of American history, Northwestern University, and Philip Powell, visiting professor, University of Pennsylvania, has been appointed assistant professor of Hispanic-American history, Northwestern University.

Paul Wallace Gates has been promoted from the rank of associate professor to professor of American history in Cornell University.

Ross J. Hoffman, Fordham University, has been promoted from the rank of associate professor to professor of European history in the graduate school.

Nelson Vance Russell, professor of American history, Carleton College, has been granted leave of absence to become editor for the Historical Branch, Chemical Warfare Service, War Department, with headquarters in Baltimore, Maryland.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Last spring this office prepared and mailed a folder on *Western Civilizations: Their History and Their Culture*, by Edward McNall Burns. In this folder we quoted a review of the book, written by Professor Sidney R. Packard, which appeared in the *American Historical Review*.

Professor Packard has most properly called our attention to the fact that in this quotation of his review not all of the deletions were properly indicated, some words were omitted, and in some instances the order of the words was changed—this to such an extent that the effect and meaning of Professor Packard's review was modified to a considerable extent.

I regret very much this departure from grace because it is out of line with our concept of publishing and the publishing procedures that we have consistently followed.

I would be pleased to have you publish this letter in the next edition of the *Review*, or at your convenience.

W. W. Norton and Company

ADDISON BURNHAM,
Head, College Department.

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